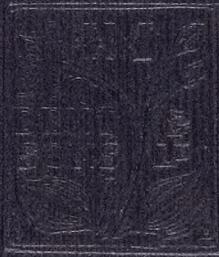
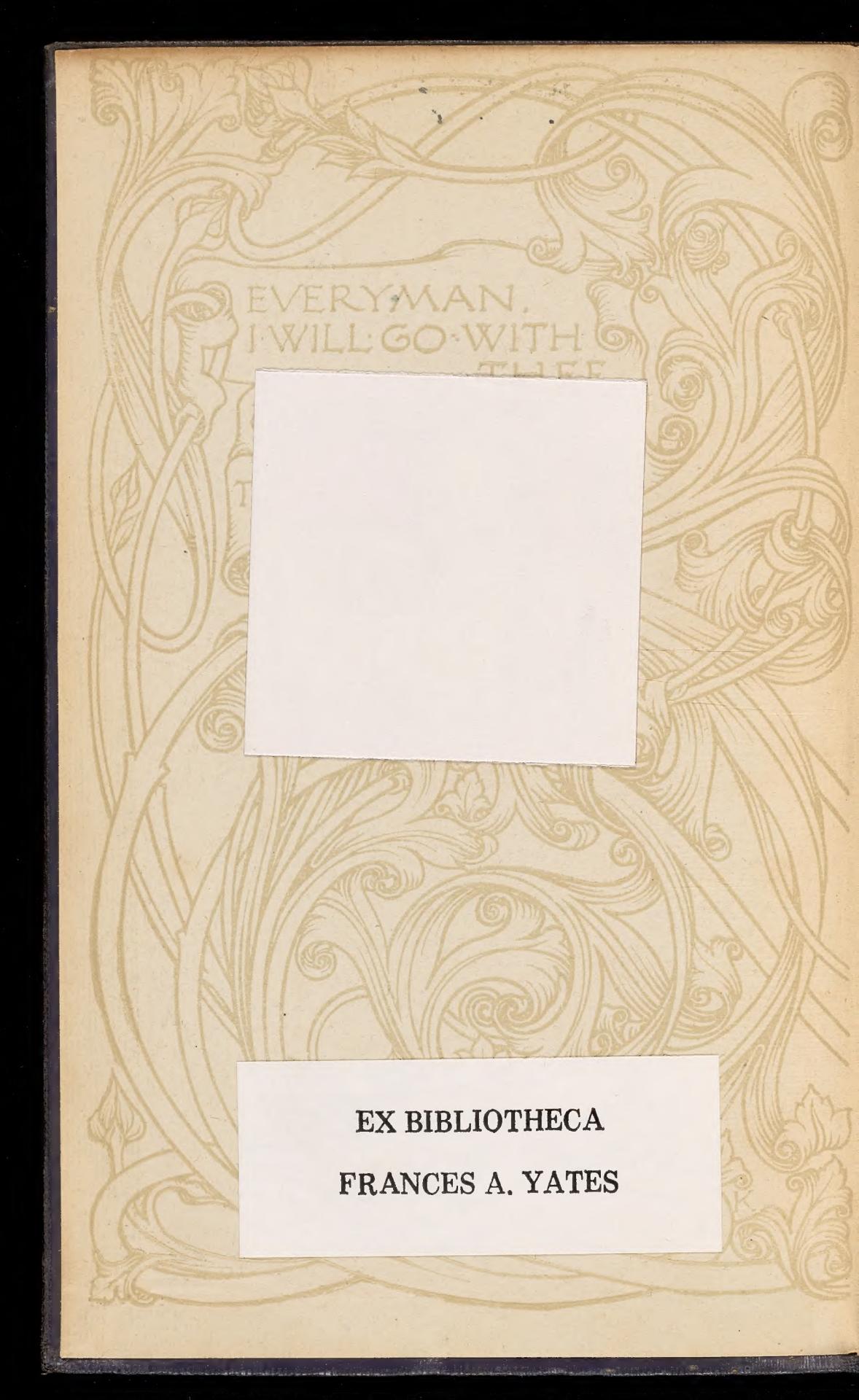


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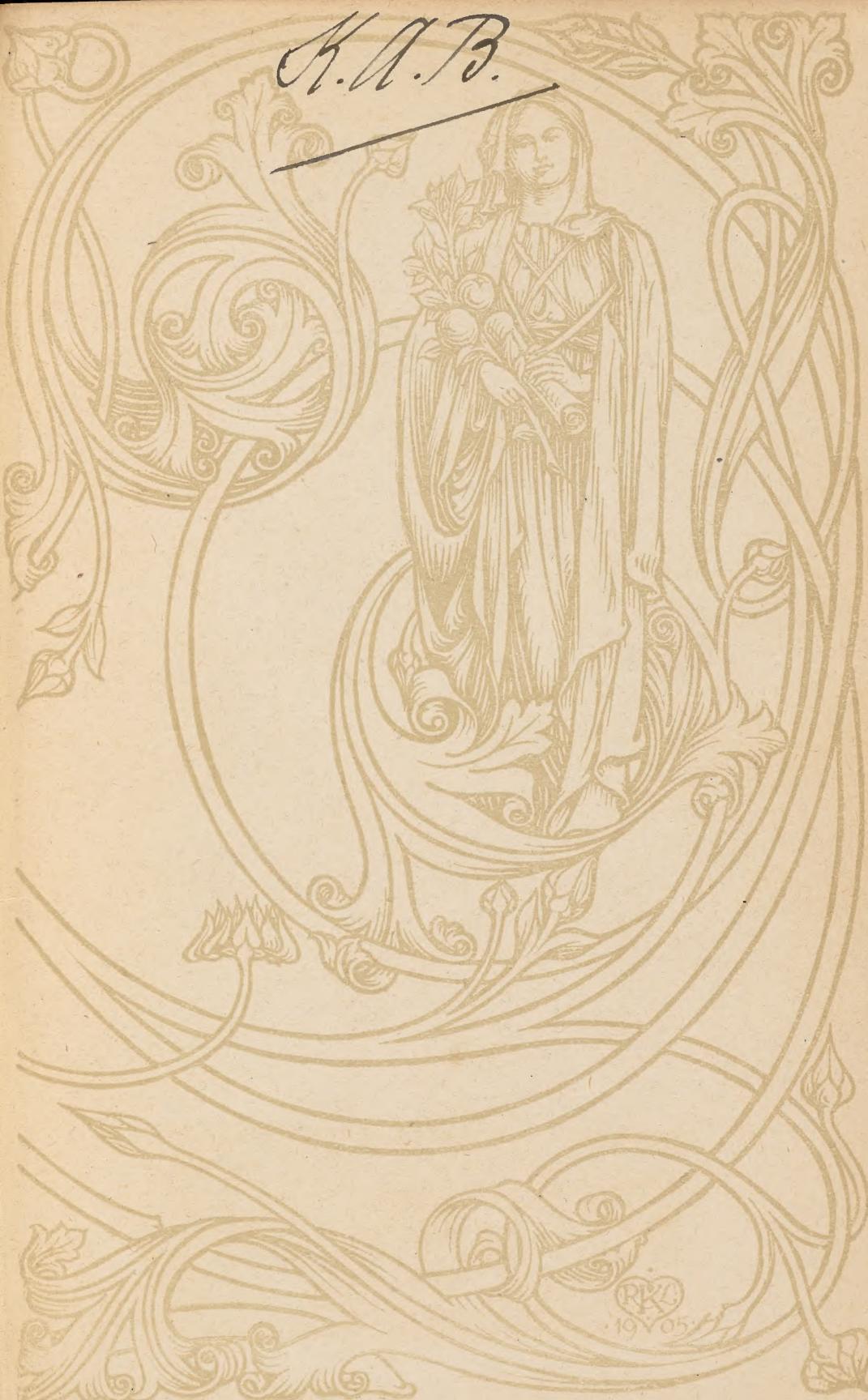


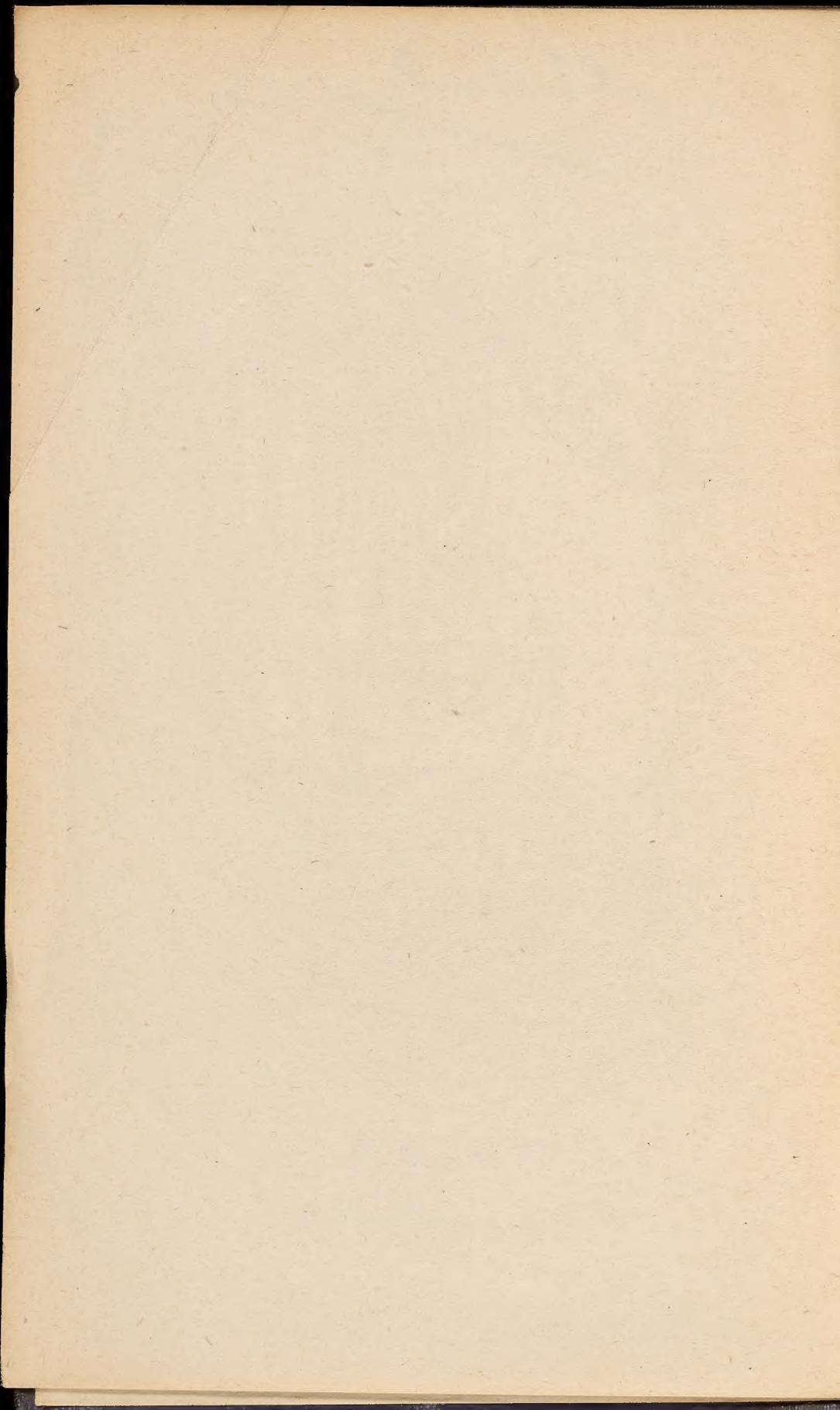


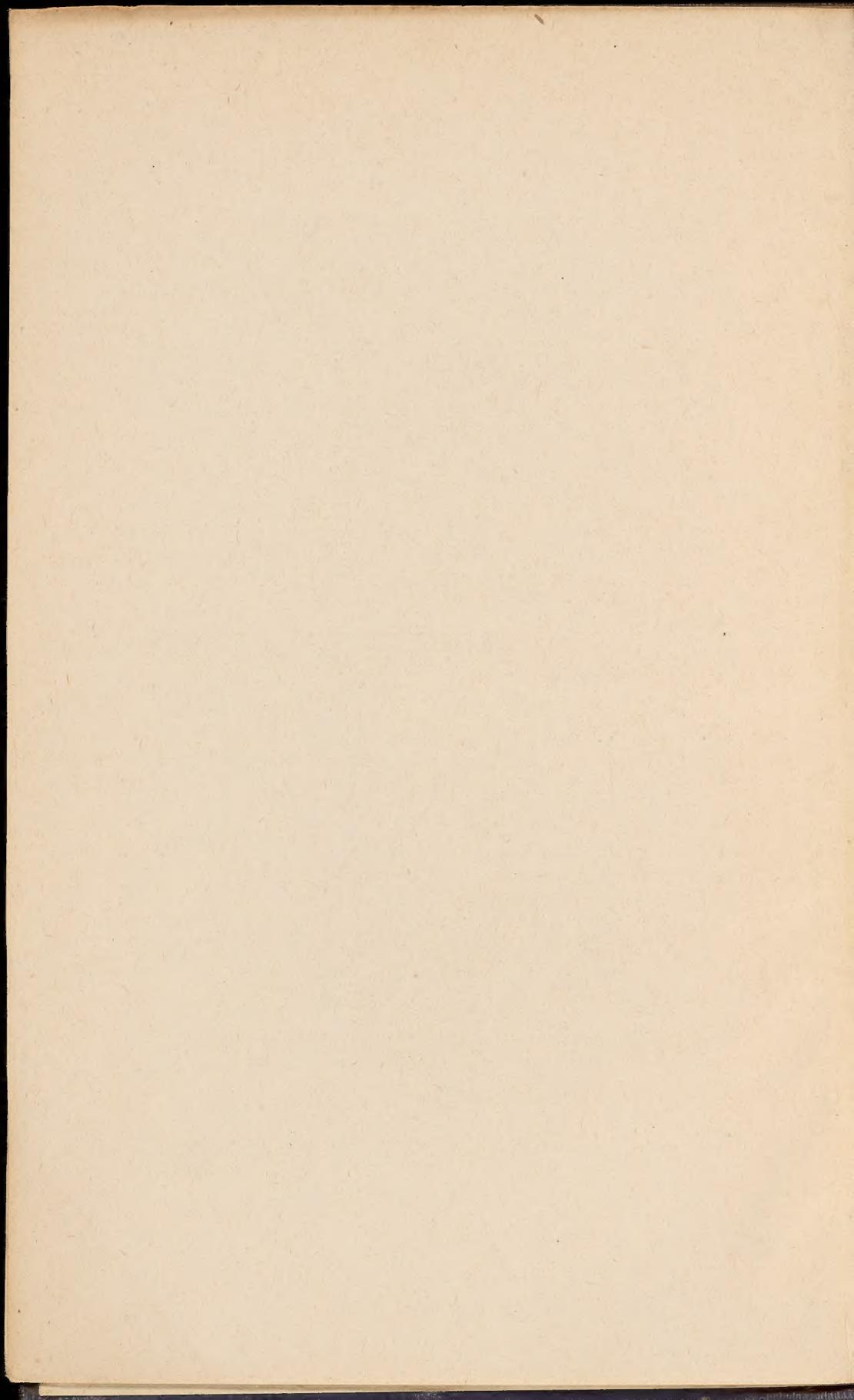
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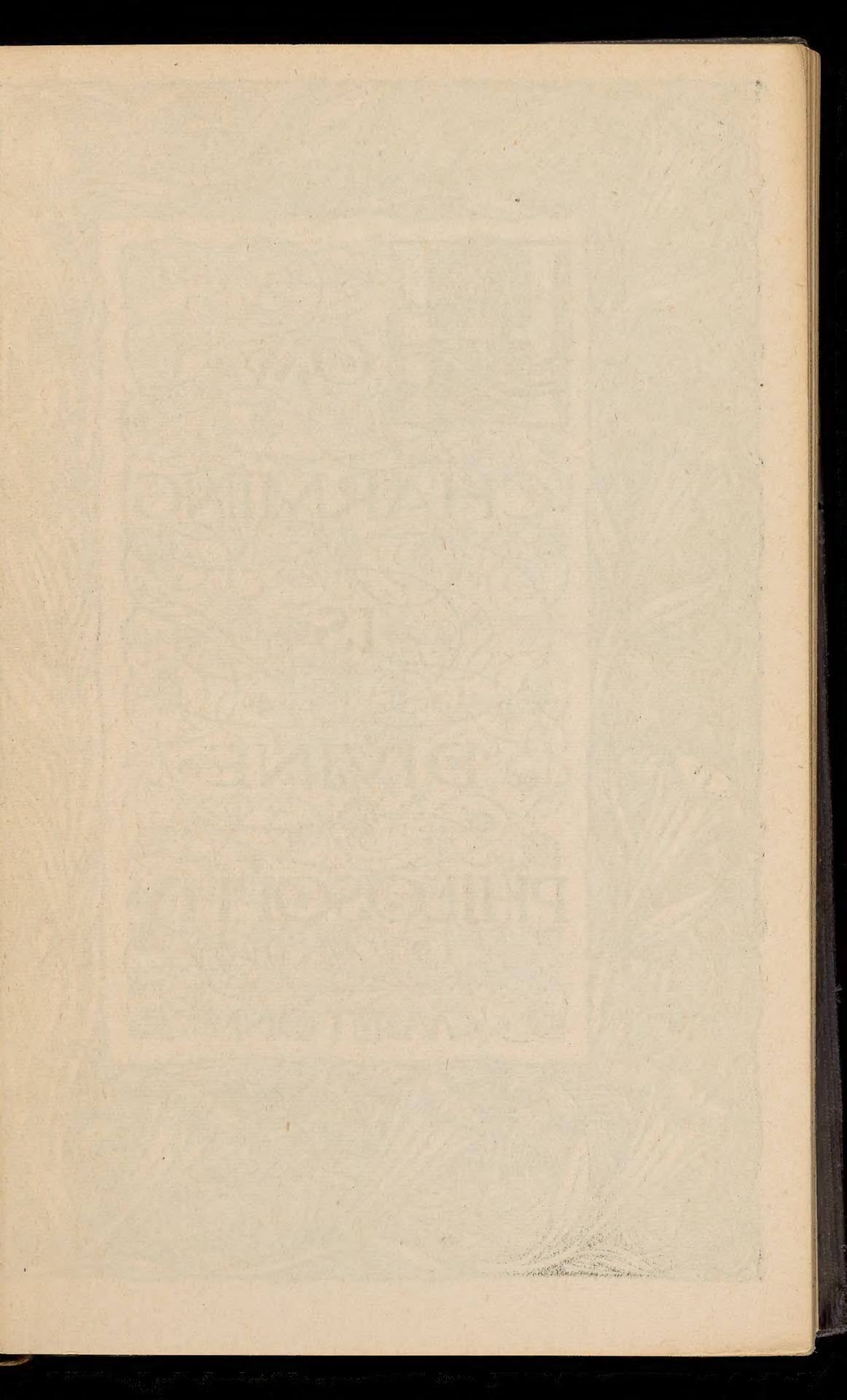
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HOW
CHARMING
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DIVINE
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MILTON

UTOPIA *with*
*the 'DIALOGUE
OF COMFORT'*
*by Sir THOMAS
MORE* ☙ ☙



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INTRODUCTION

By JOHN O'HAGAN¹

THE history of one among the best and wisest of mankind, one who crowned a life of unsullied virtue by a glorious martyr's death, is a narrative in its main features familiar to most of you, yet it cannot be otherwise than good for us to study, and even to study anew, a story at once so attractive and so edifying. If we find a man, and that man a layman, married and the father of a family, who, gifted with a natural genius, acute, profound, and brilliant beyond any of his time, adding to that genius the gifts of patient industry and indefatigable diligence, so that he obtained at home the first rank and highest honours, and abroad was recognised by the learned of every nation as one of the foremost scholars of his time: to say so much would be to speak of a very great man. When we say, besides, that his personal character and disposition were gentle, sweet, and benign, marked by the tenderest attachments to his friends and his family; that he was so unambitious that he never seems to have once sought his personal advancement, and freely laid down the honours and dignities bestowed upon him with greater joy than other men embrace them; that the shadow of evil passion never overcame him; that he was generous, charitable, and unselfish to a degree that left him poor in the midst of every opportunity of acquiring wealth; and that his daily intercourse was marked by a uniform sociability and mirth which made him the most delightful of friends and companions: we speak of a character whose attributes, even if he had been a heathen or unbeliever, would have justly endeared him to mankind. Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors of England," says of him that

¹ An address originally given by Judge O'Hagan to the Catholic Union of Ireland.

his character both in public and private life, comes as near to perfection as our nature will permit; and the cynic Dean Swift places him with Junius and Marcus Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas and the younger Cato—places, I say, with these illustrious ancients Sir Thomas More as the solitary modern, “a sextumvirate (he says) to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh.”

Yet when all this is said of him, we speak of things which are shadows in comparison with the reality that lay beneath. It is to be said of him that in an age of faithlessness, of unbelief, and self-seeking, he was one of the most humble and mortified of Christians; that his daily religious exercises in the height of his occupations and dignities would shame the idlest amongst us; that the shirt of hair which he wore until the day of his death is still preserved in a convent in England; that he defrauded himself of sleep to find time to write voluminous works in defence of the Catholic faith against the errors swarming around; and lastly that he, a solitary layman, in conjunction with one single bishop and a few holy Carthusian Friars, were found alone amongst all the laity, all the episcopacy, and all the clergy, secular and regular, of England, to refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of the King over the Church: we cannot wonder that God bestowed upon him the crowning grace to complete a life which was truly the life of a confessor by the death of a martyr.

Such was Sir Thomas More. Happily abundant materials for a history of him have come down to us. His first biographer was his son-in-law, Roper, who knew him intimately, and was, like all his connections, enthusiastically devoted to him. A Life of him was afterwards written in Latin by Dr. Stapleton, and another by Dr. Hoddesdon, both Catholic priests. But by far the fullest and most interesting biography is that published some eighty years after his death by his great-grandson and namesake, Thomas More, in the reign of Charles I. In that Life almost all we could desire to know of his is contained. Much also of the traits of his personal and domestic character may be found in his own letters, and those of his distinguished contemporary and intimate friend, Erasmus. His Latin works, including his famous *Utopia*, were collected and published at Cologne shortly after his death; and his English works were given to the world in Queen Mary's reign, in two volumes folio, in black letter and with double columns. They would form a dozen or more of our ordinary octavo

volumes. They consist partly of sprightly verses and *jeux d'esprit* written in his youth, full of that innocent gaiety which superabounded in his nature—partly of historical and biographical essays; such as a history of Richard III., and a life of that remarkable man, Pico di Mirandola. But by far the greater portion of the body of his writings, at least six parts out of seven, are devoted to the defence of the Catholic faith, and manifest a profound acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, with the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and with theological principles and reasonings. Besides these, there are devotional writings upon comfort in affliction and upon our Lord's Passion, written in the Tower during his last imprisonment, and in expectation of death. From these writings, from the biographies of him which I have mentioned, and from the history of histimes, we are enabled to know him very thoroughly. I purpose to give you such an account of him as the brief space of this discourse permits.

It is now close on four hundred years since his birth. He was born in the very centre of London, in the year 1480, while the Plantagenet House of York still held the throne. What his family had been cannot now be well known, the family records having, as his great-grandson says, been seized upon at the time of his attainder by Henry VIII. and never recovered. But he says they were of honourable lineage, and (what is of some interest for us) were connected with the Mores of Ireland, though whether the English or the Irish were the parent stock he had no materials for ascertaining. His father, Sir John More, was one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and he seems to have possessed many of the qualities by which his son was afterwards distinguished, especially those of piety and gaiety. He lived to a great old age—lived to see his son Lord High Chancellor; and you will pardon me for anticipating what occurred fifty years later, and mentioning a trait of manners which marks the difference between those times and our own. When Thomas More was Lord Chancellor and went each morning to take his seat in Westminster Hall, it was his invariable custom to enter the court of King's Bench where his father sat, to kneel down and ask his blessing. What in our time would excite unmeasured ridicule was then a simple act of filial and religious piety.

That the son of such a father was carefully and well educated was a thing of course. He was sent to one of the best schools then existing in London, St. Anthony's School, in Thread-

needle Street. At the age of fourteen he was transferred to another theatre of education according to a custom which prevailed in the middle ages, but which has been now for centuries abandoned. He was sent to be a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. To be a page in a great family, so far from indicating anything of a menial position, was looked to as a most important part of the training of a young gentleman. The idea was—and, like all ideas, it was more or less perfectly realised, or not realised at all, according to the character both of the individual who was the subject of it, and of the household which received him—but the idea was that youths should in the plastic and flexible period of life be fashioned into obedience, courtesy, and knowledge of mankind, should have illustrious examples to look up to, should receive what is now so little thought of—an education of the habits—and at the very lowest be moulded into what was most dignified and gracious in external manner.

Cardinal Morton, into whose establishment at Lambeth More was thus received as a boy, was himself no ordinary man. He was the same Morton, formerly Bishop of Ely, who in the reign of Richard III. had succeeded in making his escape beyond seas and joining Richmond, who was then meditating an invasion of the realm. His single defection brought more home to King Richard the danger in which he stood than the armed insurrection of the Duke of Buckingham.

“Morton with Richmond troubles me far more
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength.”

After the overthrow and death of Richard III. Morton's fortunes rose to a high pitch under his successor, King Henry VII., whose friend and counsellor in exile he had been. He became successively Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, and Cardinal. When More was put under his charge, he was far advanced in years—of the age of eighty-four—but with all his faculties vigorous and alert. More afterwards describes him thus in the introduction to his *Utopia*:

“I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England; a man that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age. His looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave. He took pleasure sometimes to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon

business, by speaking sharply though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind, with which he was much delighted when it did not grow up to an impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and experience. The King depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him: for from his youth he had been all along practised in affairs; and, having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had acquired, to his great cost, a stock of wisdom which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear."

Cardinal Morton, as Roper tells us, was not slow in discerning the very remarkable talents of the young page who had been confided to him.

" For the Cardinal would often make trial of his present wit, especially at Christmas merriments, when, having plays for his recreation, this youth would suddenly step up among the players, and, never studying before upon the matter, make often a part of his own invention, which was so witty and so full of jests that he alone made more sport than all the players beside; for which his towardliness the Cardinal much delighted in him, and would often say of him unto divers of the nobility who at sundry times dined with him: ' This child here waiting at the table, whoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous rare man.' "

After having been two years under Cardinal Morton, More was by his advice sent to Oxford. At Oxford he remained for two years—no longer. He left it at the age of eighteen with a thorough knowledge of the classics and a mastery over the Latin language which made his name earlier and more widely known on the Continent than it was in England. One circumstance will manifest what his endowments were. In 1497 Erasmus came to Oxford, being then a man of established fame in the world of letters. He was thirteen years senior to More, being then thirty, while More was but a lad of seventeen. Yet so strong were the admiration and attraction with which Erasmus was drawn towards him that a friendship began which was constantly fostered by the most friendly correspondence, and which only ceased with More's death. I shall have occasion later on to refer to the colours with which Erasmus depicts his friend in a letter to the well-known Ulrich Hutten.

Leaving Oxford at eighteen, he entered the Inns of Court

in London, and gave himself to the study of law with like ardour and like success. He himself was strongly disposed to embrace a religious life, and for a time he practised extraordinary austerities in order to test his capacity to endure the strict discipline of the Franciscans; but he became at last persuaded that such was not his vocation. He was so advised by his director, the famous Dean Colet, who told him that to be a layman and a married man was best for him. The strong desire of his father that he should be a lawyer may have added its weight. However that be, I gather from some words which he spoke in the Tower to his daughter Margaret, shortly before his execution, that a hankering after the cell of the monk never quite left him.

After his call to the Bar his rise was wonderfully rapid. His son-in-law says he made by his profession £400 a year, which Lord Campbell, having regard to the difference in the value of money and to the amount of customary professional fees, thinks might indicate a position equivalent to what would be indicated by an income of £10,000 a year made at the English Bar at this day. Lord Campbell may be right upon the simple basis of comparing a first-class bar-income of that day with one in his own time; but, taking the mere value of money, it would be absurd to say that £400 a year then represents £10,000 a year now, or anything like it. I would estimate the difference in money value, having regard to the cost of the necessaries and conveniences of life, as about one to eight, that is, £400 a year then would represent about £3200 now.

At the age of twenty-four he became a member of the House of Commons, and distinguished himself by his opposition to the exactions of King Henry VII., who, though he has left a fair name behind him in comparison with his son's, was in his own day regarded, and rightly regarded, as an avaricious tyrant. More's opposition to his exactions inevitably aroused the wrath of the King, who, having no means to wreak it upon Thomas himself, took a mean revenge, of a kind common to princes, and made his father feel his resentment. Upon slight pretence he mulcted the old man in a fine of £100, equal say to £800 or £1000 of the present day.

But in the year 1509, when More was twenty-nine years of age, King Henry VII. died, and Henry VIII., then a youth of eighteen, succeeded. At his accession there was a universal outburst of joy. Nothing was known of the new King that was not favourable; and at such an age everything is hoped

and everything is pardoned. The avarice of Henry VII. and the unscrupulous means taken to satisfy it had so repelled and disgusted the people of England that the accession of his successor in the flush of youth and hope was as the advent of an angel. So did Thomas More regard it, and his feelings broke out into Latin verses on the accession of the new King. They are almost the counterpart of Virgil's *Eclogue*, singing the return of the golden age and the glorious days that are to be. This poem, which celebrates the gentleness, the clemency, the cultivation, the humanity of King Henry VIII., reads strangely now in the light of his after-history.

I have not yet spoken of More's marriage and domestic life. He was twice married—first at the age of three or four-and-twenty to the daughter of an Essex gentleman, Colt of Newhall.¹ This first union brought him happiness unalloyed. The young lady was, according to all the accounts of her which have come down to us, of disposition and tastes kindred with his own; but, bred as she had been in the country, her education was somewhat behind what he desired. This gave him the happy occasion of superintending and completing her education. Erasmus says: "He married a maiden of good family, very young, and as yet untaught, having spent her life hitherto in the country with her parents and sisters. Wherefore he had the greater opportunity to fashion her to his own mind. He instructed her in literature, and had her taught every species of music."

There can hardly be a more beautiful picture than that of a husband of high tastes and attainments thus forming and training the mind of a loving and sympathising wife. Something of this kind is expressed by Shakespeare when he makes Portia address her future husband—

"The full sum of me
Is an unlessoned girl, unschooled, unpractised,
Happy in this she is not yet so old
But she may learn, and happier than this
She was not bred so dull but that she can learn—
Happiest of all is that her gentle spirit
Commits itself to yours to be directed."

More's happiness was not of long duration. His wife bore him three daughters and a son, and died about six years after

¹ The same Newhall which, having fallen to such a curious succession of owners as would almost make its history an epitome of the history of England, is now a convent of nuns.

their marriage. When two or three years had passed, he married again. The same felicity was not found in his second union. He married a widow, seven years his senior. The avowed motive of his marriage was that he might have some one to govern his house and bring up his children. In these respects he had no reason to complain of the result. She was an attentive and thrifty housewife, neither was there any lack of kindness to the children—(she bore him none of her own)—but she was hard, narrow, worldly, and never had the least comprehension of More's character, which was quite above and beyond her. Owing to this total want of sympathy, she, though an excellent woman in her way, became an adversary instead of a consolation to him in his last great trial.

In the meantime, he was growing into high favour with Henry VIII. and the King's great minister, Cardinal Wolsey. Both appreciated his talents and qualities. They desired to draw him from his legal and literary pursuits, and to win him over to the life of a courtier and politician. He wisely preferred the independence which his profession gave him. Still he was from time to time employed in missions to the Continent to negotiate treaties of trade and commerce. In all these he acquitted himself well, yet the employment was repugnant to him. He made friends abroad, amongst them Peter Giles of Antwerp, to whom he inscribed his *Utopia*. He loved the works of art and the evidences of higher civilisation to be found in the higher cities, yet he always yearned to be in his home again or busied with his daily occupations in Westminster Hall.

Yet in the midst of all this activity, with a professional business full enough to engross him, and with those occasional inroads on his time made by Wolsey or the King, he was able to find leisure for literary composition. His *Life of King Richard III.* was written about the year 1513, when he was three and thirty years of age. It is in many respects a very remarkable composition. It is evidently most authentic as a narrative, for More had mixed on the most familiar terms with the survivors of those who had been the chief actors in the events of that reign, Cardinal Morton among the number. Again it is remarkable as being the source from which all succeeding writers drew their materials. The chronicles of Hall and Stowe are, as regards this reign, little more than transcripts from Sir Thomas More. But, what is to us of far greater interest, Shakespeare follows in his footsteps with an almost literal

observance. The character of King Richard III., as pourtrayed in the pages of Shakespeare, may naturally seem an ideal and imaginary one. The fiery quickness of action, combined with the deepest cunning and forethought, the utter unscrupulousness as to means, and the barefaced hypocrisy employed to secure whatever end was in view, might appear, as delineated in Shakespeare, a creation, if not quite out of nature, still, for dramatic purposes stretched and overstrained. Yet when we turn to the actual pages of the history, we find literally all that we find in Shakespeare apart from the mere dramatic form and the cadence of the blank verse. I am tempted to give you a passage both for the foregoing reasons, and to exemplify the truth of what Lord Campbell says, that Sir Thomas More was the first writer of elegance in English prose. It is indeed curious to see how little the language was in substance changed during three hundred and sixty years. The passage I am about to cite is that which relates to the murder of Lord Hastings the Lord Chamberlain, previously the devoted friend of Richard, bound to him in a common enmity to the Queen, the widow of King Edward IV., and her relatives and connections. Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, was Protector of the realm and guardian of his infant nephew, King Edward V.; but he was resolved to seize upon the crown. In this design the Duke of Buckingham, Catesby, and others whom he had suborned, were his unscrupulous abettors, and he caused Lord Hastings to be sounded, not doubting that he might reckon on him as one of his adherents. But Lord Hastings, attached as he was to Richard, indignantly repelled the idea of being unfaithful to his late Sovereign's son, the infant King. Richard, when this was reported to him, determined without a moment's scruple to make an end of him. This was the mode in which it was effected, as told by Sir Thomas More. It is to be remembered that Cardinal Morton, then Bishop of Ely, who was More's informant, was an eye-witness of the whole scene.

“ Whereupon soon after, that is to wit on the Friday, many Lords assembled in the Tower and there held Council touching the solemnity of the King's coronation, of which the time so near approached that the pageantries and subtleties were making day and night at Westminster, and much victual killed that afterwards was cast away. These Lords so sitting together, communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merely that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said to the Bishop of Ely:

' My Lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden ¹ at Holborn. I pray you let me have a mess of them.' ' Gladly, my Lord,' quoth he, ' would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that.' And therewith in all haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The Protector set the Lords fast in communing; and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon, after one hour between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them all, charged with a wonderful sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting and gnawing his lips, and so sat him down in his place, all the Lords sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail. Then, when he had sitten still awhile thus, he began—' What are they worthy to have that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the King and Protector of his Royal Person and his Realm?' At this question all the Lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the Lord Chamberlain, as he for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the others affirmed the same. ' That is,' said he, ' yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and others with her'—meaning the Queen. At these words many of the Lords were greatly abashed that favoured her. But the Lord Hastings was in his mind better content that it was moved by her than by any other whom he loved better; albeit his heart somewhat grudged that he was not afore made of council in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfsame day—while he was not aware it was by the other devised that himself should the same day be beheaded at London. ' Then,' said the Protector, ' ye shall see in what wise that sorceress and that other witch of her council, Shore's wife, with their affinity have by their sorcery and witchcraft withered my body;' and therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a wanish withered arm and small, as indeed it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave him, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist that the Queen was too wise to go about any such folly; and also, if she would, yet would she of all folk least make Shore's wife of council, whom of all women she most hated. And also no man was there present but well knew that his arm was ever such from his birth. Nathelss the Lord Chamberlain answered and said: ' Certainly, my Lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.' ' What!' quoth the Protector, ' thou servest me, I ween, with *ifs* and with *ands*! I tell thee they have so done, and *that* I will make

¹ These gardens were afterwards at Queen Elizabeth's command made over by her Bishop of Ely to her lover and "dancing Chancellor," Sir Christopher Hatton. It was upon the first demur of the Bishop to this alienation of the property of his see, that she wrote the famous letter beginning, "Proud Prelate!" and ending, "By G——, I will unfrock you." They have been ever since known as Hatton Gardens.

good on thy body, traitor!' And therewith as in a great anger he clasped his fist upon the board a great rap, at which token given one cried 'treason!' without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing, men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the Protector said to the Lord Hastings, 'I arrest thee, traitor!' 'What! me, my Lord,' quoth he. 'Yea, thee, traitor,' quoth the Protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrank at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the Lord Chamberlain whom the Protector bade speed and shrive him apace: 'for, by St. Paul,' quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.' It booted him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at adventure and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not go to till this were done for saying of his oath. So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel, within the Tower and his head laid down upon a long log of timber and there stricken off. And afterwards his body with the head was interred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward, whose both souls God pardon."

I am tempted, after this, to read for you the corresponding passage of Shakespeare's play.¹ It is an almost literal transcript. That greatest of poets and dramatists, endowed as he was with a surpassing faculty of imagination, yet discerned that in the simple narrative of history there is a truth and reality which no invention can overleap; and, as in his great Roman dramas, he almost servilely followed Plutarch, adding only poetic touches which made the traits of character more pointed and incisive, so here he really did nothing but dramatise the story as given by More. As I must hurry on to other things, I must only ask you to read the passage in Shakespeare, and compare it for yourselves.

More's next literary production was written in Latin, and is the most widely popular and enduring of all his works—his famous *Utopia*. We must remember, that during the middle ages, and down to the period of which we treat, and afterwards till the end (we may say) of the sixteenth century, Latin, the use of which the Catholic Church had preserved and fostered, was the common language of the learned. There was thus a republic of letters, as it was termed, of a kind which in our day exists no longer. No matter from what country a work of any merit emanated, it was at once republished and disseminated over all Europe, and was as well known in Germany, Holland, Italy, France, and England, as if its

¹ King Richard III., Act iv., Scene 4.

author had been born and written there. The *Utopia* of More was better appreciated and had a wider popularity on the Continent than in his own island. The word Utopia has given an adjective to our language, and many use the epithet "Utopian" without any very distinct idea as to the source from which it sprang. It is a Greek compound, and means, literally, the country of Nowhere. It is the portraiture of an imaginary republic, and embodies the conception of the author, partly sound, and partly fanciful, as to an ideal excellence of laws and institutions existing among ideal people. Such a conception has been a favourite topic among speculative thinkers, from Plato downwards. Swift attempted something of the same kind in his description of the kingdom of the Houynhms in *Gulliver's Travels*. The latest of these purely imaginative dreams is Lord Lytton's romance of *The Coming Race*, published a few years ago. But in the last century, and since, down to our own days, these sports of the imagination have taken a very different form. They have been transmuted into proposals to carry such chimeras into actual practice. They have found fanatical advocates of what we now term Socialism and Communism. It has happened to me, in my time, to have read all, or all that I could find of these essays, whether they were of the merely sportive and imaginative kind, such as the *Utopia*, or of the fiercer and more daring school of latter days; and I have found that, underlying their proposals, there was always one radical fallacy, namely, that they not only invent ideal institutions for mankind, but invent an ideal mankind for their institutions. Thus, Sir Thomas More supposes his Utopians to have no such thing as individual property, but to enjoy all their possessions in common, distributed under the rule of wise and just administrators. Well, under the force and energy of a potent religious idea, as among the first Christians, or among the convents and monasteries of the Catholic Church, such a conception is not only possible, but has been and is realised. But, taking the mass of mankind as they are, what would a community of goods amount to but a premium given to the lazy, the selfish, and the vicious to prey upon industry and virtue? Again, he supposes the Utopians to allot but six hours in each day to labour; and he shows in very clear and beautiful language that, putting aside the artificial cravings of luxury, that time would be ample to provide for all the real needs of the people, leaving the rest of the day for healthful recreations, for reading and

prayer. True, but supposing the leisure thus afforded was wasted in lavish expenditure upon poisonous drink, what would become of the theory? By no means disparaging the effect of wise laws, it cannot be too often repeated that every hope for mankind lies in each individual's amendment of himself. I always remember a story which I once read of a French writer who had elaborated one of these ideal social systems, and then submitted his work to a friend for criticism. The friend said to him: "All this is extremely fine, but what are you to do in your new commonwealth with the Seven Deadly Sins?" "Ah!" said the writer, "there is my difficulty, which, to tell you the truth, I have as yet been unable to solve."

In my judgment, the most interesting part of More's *Utopia* is the introduction, in which he puts his finger on real and flagrant vices of the law of England, some of which were not removed till near three hundred years afterwards, and some remain unabolished till this hour. He dwells with great force upon the iniquity of the law as to the punishment of theft. Theft was a felony punishable with death, and confiscation of all the goods of the offender. It has been computed that in the single reign of Henry VIII., some 12,000 human beings were put to death for this crime. Even supposing this to be an exaggeration, there is no doubt that the law, and the execution of the law, were sanguinary in the extreme. Sir Thomas More anticipated Beccaria and modern jurists by showing that such unmeasured penalties absolutely tended, instead of stifling crime, to increase it by rendering men desperate; and he proposed, first, a statesmanlike examination and removal, as far as possible, of the causes, then the substitution of a milder punishment for the extreme penalty; and, lastly, instead of the forfeiture of the offender's property to the king, he proposed a measure of simple justice, which I regret to say has not even yet been made law, namely, that restitution should so far as possible be made to those who had been defrauded by the theft.

Another part of the introduction which is by no means devoid of interest to us, is where he dwells upon a social change then taking its course in England, as it has been and is now taking its course in Ireland, namely, the decrease of tillage and the great increase of pasture, by which (as he pithily puts it) sheep, the mildest of animals, might be said to devour men, and unpeople not only villages, but towns. This was one of the causes to which he ascribes the great

increase of the crime of theft and robbery, multitudes being thrown out of employment and means of living, and having no other resource but to beg or steal.

The same causes always tend to produce the same results. The outrages of the Whiteboys and the Hearts of Steel in the last century had a similar origin; and if these excesses do not now appear, it is owing to the outlet of emigration, which did not then exist.

I have been somewhat led away by these observations on More's writings, his history, and his romance, from his personal story. I now return to it; and first I will mention the apology which, in sending this very work of the *Utopia* to his friend of Antwerp, Peter Giles, he makes for not devoting more time to literary composition.

“ Whilst I daily either pleade other men's causes, or heare them sometimes as an arbiter, otherwhiles as a judge; whilst this man I visite for friendshipp, another for businesses and whilst I busie myselfe abroad about other mens matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myselfe, that is for studie: for when I come home, I must discourse with my wife, chatte with my children, speake with my servants; and seeing this must needes be donne, I number it amongst my affaires, and needfull they are, unless one will be a stranger in his own house, for we must endeavour to be affable, and pleasing unto those, whome either nature, chance, or choice hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be done, that we doe not marre them with affabilitie, or make them if servants our masters, by too much gentle entreatie and favour; whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a yeare passeth. When, then, can I find any time to write! for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping, which thing alone bereave most men of halfe their life. As for me, I get only that spare time, which I steale from my meate and sleepe, which because it is but small I proceed slowly; yet it being somewhat, I have now at the length prevailed so much as I have finished and sent unto you, Peter, my *Utopia*.”

In the meantime, while he thus lamented having so little leisure for literary pursuits, his favour, both with the great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, and with the King himself, was daily mounting. He was made successively, and without his own seeking, a knight, a Privy Councillor, Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. King Henry took great delight in his companionship and conversation. I will read for you some passages from his biographer, which show upon what terms they stood.

“ King Henry finding still more and more sufficiencie in Sir Thomas, used him with particular affection for the space of twentie

years togeather; during a good part whereof the King's custom was upon holiedaies, when he had done his devotions, to sende for Sir Thomas into his Traverse, and there, sometimes in matters of astronomie, geomitrie, and divinitie, and such other sciences to sitt and conferre with him; otherwhiles also in the cleere nights he would have him walk with him on the leads, there to discourse of the diversitie of the courses, motions, and operations of the starres, as well fixed as the planetts; and because he was of a verie pleasant disposition, it pleased his majestie and the queene at supper-time, commonly to call him to heare his pleasant jestes. But when Sir Thomas perceaved his wittie conceipt so much to delight him, that he could scarce once in a month get leave to goe home to his wife and children, whom he had now placed at Chelsey, three miles from London, by the water side; and that he could not be two daies absent from the Court, but he must be sent for again; he much misliking this restrainte of his libertie, began thereupon to dissemble his mirth, and so by little and little to disuse himself, that he from thenceforth at such seasons was no more so ordinarilie sent for."

I think I may say that this is an almost solitary instance of a man conscious of the high favour in which he stood with the King, and of the natural gifts and graces which won him that favour, yet prizing other and better things so much beyond the courted smiles of royalty, that he absolutely dissembled and concealed the natural charm of his conversation, so that the King might let him go back to his family and his books. But even to his own house, the King would follow him.

" The king used also, of a particular love, to come on a suddain to Chelsey, where Sir Thomas now lived, and leaning upon his shoulder, to talke with him of secrett counsell in his gardin, yea and to dine with him upon no inviting."

And again, as his descendant relates:—

" King Henry tooke such extraordinarie love in Sir Thomas, his companion, that he would sometimes on a suddin, as before I touched, come over to his house, at Chelsey, and be merrie with him; whither on a time unlooked for, he came and dined at his house, and after dinner walked with him the space of an hower, holding his arme about his necke most lovingly in the gardin. When his majestie was gone, my uncle Rooper rejoiced thereat, and tolde his father how happie he was, for that the king had showed him such extraordinarie signes of love, as he had never seen him doe to anie other, except the cardinal, whome he saw with the king once walke arme-in-arme. Whereto, Sir Thomas answering, said: I thank of Lord God, I finde his grace my verie good lord indeed; and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as anie other subject, within this realme; howbeit, sonne Rooper, I may tell you I have no cause to be proude thereof; for if my head would winne him a castle in France (for there there was warres betweene France and us), it should not faile to go off."

It is to be remembered, that when More thus spoke of King Henry VIII. with such marvellous insight into his real character, that monarch was, to all outward appearance, one of the best that ever sat on the throne of England. I will not myself say anything as to this extraordinary discernment on the part of More, but I will quote for you the words of Lord Campbell:—

“ This authentic anecdote shows in a very striking manner, how More had early penetrated the intense selfishness, levity, heartlessness, and insensibility to remorse, which constituted the character of the king, while these bad qualities were yet disguised by a covering of affability, hilarity, and apparent good humour, and before they had shed the blood of a wife or a friend. The world could little anticipate that Henry would actually one day cut off More's head, even without any such substantial advantage as the winning of a castle. For the present his Majesty delighted to honour him.”

This must have been about the happiest period of his life. Middle age had come upon him with its usual stealthy footsteps, but it had brought with it all its brightest natural accompaniments, “ honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,” and, high above these, the certainty of an unclouded religious faith, and the serenity of a conscience perfectly at ease. His daughters had grown up and were married, but they were not separated from him. Daughters, sons-in-law, and all, lived with him in his home at Chelsea. It was of this period of his life that Erasmus wrote to Ulrich Hutten:

“ More hath built neare London, upon the Thames side (to witt at Chelsey, that which my lord of Lincolne bought of Sir Robert Cecile) a commodious house, neither meane nor subject to envie, yet magnificent enough; there he converseth affably with his family, his wife, his son and daughter-in-lawe, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grand-children; there is not any man living so loving to his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as if she were a young mayde, and such is the excellencie of his temper, that whatsoever happenethe that could not be helped, he loveth it as if nothing could happen more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's academie, but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's academie, wherein there was only disputations of numbers, and geometricale figures, and sometimes of morall and vertues. I should rather call his house a school, or universitie of Christian religion, for there is none therein but readith or studieth the liberall sciences; their speciall care is pietie and vertue, there is no quarrelling or intemperate words heard, none seen idle, which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not governe by proude and loftie words, but with all kind and courteous benevolence: everybody performeth his dutie; yet is there always alacritie; neither is sober mirth anie thing wanting.”

Yet even then he had deep, instinctive misgivings, as to the future of England. His son-in-law, Roper, afterwards his biographer, himself a truly religious man, began one day to speak exultingly to him of the happy state of the realm that had so Catholic and zealous a prince, so learned and virtuous a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, such loving and obedient subjects, all agreeing together as if they had but one heart and one soul. Sir Thomas answered: “ And yet I pray God that some of us may not live to see the day in which all this will be changed, and in which we will be glad to be permitted to possess our own churches and our own religion in peace.”

But, in truth, the time of that change was hard at hand. I do not desire to dwell upon the history of King Henry VIII. further than is absolutely necessary for my subject. In its main features, it is known to all of you. The King having lived for nearly twenty years with his excellent and virtuous wife, Catherine of Aragon, was suddenly seized with a passion for Anne Boleyn, and professed to be struck with a tardy scruple as to his marriage with his deceased brother’s wife—though there is no doubt she had been his brother’s wife only in name, and that Henry’s marriage had been ratified by a full dispensation from the Pope. Cardinal Wolsey, fatally for himself, and in utter blindness as to the King’s real intentions and desires, had fostered these scruples, in the hope of marrying the King to a sister of the King of France, and thus dissolving the alliance between England and the Emperor Charles V., who had stood in the way of his own personal ambition to obtain the popedom. Henry, after vain efforts to obtain from Rome the sanction for his divorce, procured it at last to be pronounced by his own servile instrument, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his court at Lambeth. When all the modern sophistry that has been written upon this subject has been fully weighed and considered, we must own that what has been always the popular verdict is the true one, and that the actual facts of the case are admirably condensed by Shakespeare, when after the Lord Chamberlain says to the Duke of Suffolk: “ The King’s marriage with his brother’s wife has crept too near his conscience,” he makes the Duke of Suffolk answer: “ No, his conscience has crept too near another lady.” Anne Boleyn wrought the fall of Wolsey, the great Cardinal, a truly splendid statesman and administrator: who, if his virtues had been commensurate with his mental faculties and powers, would have left the foremost name among English

ministers. It is to be said of him that, whatever may have been his faults of pride and worldliness, yet so long as he was at the right hand of Henry and governed his councils, Henry's character at home and abroad stood as high as that of any sovereign in Europe. Anne Boleyn was Wolsey's enemy, and he fell. He was deprived of the Great Seals, and was banished (for it was to him a banishment) to his diocese of York. He would infallibly have soon afterwards lost his head, if death from a broken heart had not anticipated his doom. On Wolsey's fall, Henry cast about for a successor to him, and with the approbation of all the kingdom, his choice fell upon Sir Thomas More. This was in the year 1529, when More was forty-nine years of age. He held the Seals for about two years and a half. He was the first layman who for a considerable period had been raised to that dignity. Lay Chancellors had from time to time been appointed in the reigns of the Edwards, but afterwards, as previously, the office had been committed to ecclesiastics. There can, I think, be little doubt—strange as it may seem to our modern notions—that our system of equitable jurisprudence is, in the main, owing to the succession of great churchmen in that place, versed in the Roman and civil law, and the canon law, by which, as Burke truly says, the jejeuneness and barrenness of our municipal law was enriched and strengthened. But to More all the great repertories of jurisprudence were familiar. It is conceded that he made one of the best Chancellors who ever sat. He even attempted, three centuries before the time, to effect that fusion of law and equity so loudly demanded and partly accomplished at the present day. He called the Judges together, expounded to them how the writs of injunction from Chancery restraining proceedings at common law had their origin in the utter injustice which the rigour of the common law in many cases occasioned, and said that if the common law were only modified so as to give judgment according to the real right and equity of the case, there would be little further occasion for any Chancellor to interfere with them. To this they declined to listen, their motive being, as More thought, that they did not wish to assume a responsibility in the judgment of causes which the common law enabled them to cast upon a jury. For myself, speaking as a lawyer, I must say I think it fortunate that Sir Thomas More did not then succeed in his attempted fusion of law and equity; for the great Chancellors who have succeeded in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth

centuries have given a fulness and completeness to equitable principles which Judges bred to the strictness and rigour of the common law would hardly have done. Sir Thomas More devoted himself to his duties as Chancellor with the utmost zeal. Cardinal Wolsey, notwithstanding his rare talents for business, yet occupied as he was with the concerns not only of the kingdom, but of all Europe, had left a large arrear of causes unheard. All these were cleared off. So that Sir Thomas More, one day sitting in his court and calling for the next cause, was told that there was none. This gave rise at the time to the following punning epigram:—

“ When More some years had Chancellor been,
No more suits did remain;
The like shall never more be seen,
Till More be there again.”

In the midst of all this, his pleasant and mirthful disposition never deserted him. An amusing little anecdote has come down to us of a lap-dog, or, possibly, as it might be now termed, a toy terrier, having been stolen from a poor woman, to whom it belonged, and sold to the Lord Chancellor’s lady. The woman having discovered that her dog was at Chelsea, laid claim to it. This claim Lady More indignantly denied. Sir Thomas, having come in in the middle of the dispute, said:

“ Well, I am Lord Chancellor, and I will decide this cause.” Accordingly he placed his wife at one end of the hall and the poor woman at the other, and sat himself in the middle, having the dog in his lap. He bade them both call him, whereupon the dog jumped down and ran to his former owner, to whom Sir Thomas More at once adjudged it. Solomon or Sancho Panza could not have decided better. Accusations of corruption in his high office were made against him, such as were, unhappily, too well founded in the case of some who went before, and some who came after him, amongst others his great successor, Lord Bacon. But from the high-tempered armour of proof in which More was clad, they fell utterly harmless. A lady who had a suit before him sent to him a glove filled with gold pieces. He said it would not be polite to refuse a lady’s present, so he kept the glove, pouring all the gold into the hand of the messenger who brought it. Almost the same thing occurred with a gold cup sent to him by another suitor. He poured a little wine into the cup, drank it, and then restored the cup to the bringer.

But I must hasten onwards to the end. Things went their destined way. King Henry was determined to have his will in the matter of the divorce. So long as the question was undetermined by the Court of Rome, More assisted Henry in trying to procure a final judgment; but when it became plain that the decision of the Holy See would be adverse to the wishes of the King, then came the parting of the ways in which More had to choose between his conscience as a Catholic and the honours and rewards of this world. He supplicated Henry to relieve him from his office of Chancellor. The King, with reluctance, accepted his resignation, still promising to him, "that, for the good services he had done him, he should not fail to find him a good and gracious Lord." How that promise was kept we shall see. This resignation took place in the year 1532, when More was fifty-two years of age.

We cannot help contrasting his feelings upon this abandonment of worldly honours with those of his great predecessor, Cardinal Wolsey. Comparing the two men, it can hardly, I suppose, be doubted that Wolsey, to use a cant phrase of the present day, was a man of the greater brain-power. He was a great founder, a great administrator; a man of action and achievement, ambitious, sumptuous, and proud in his prosperity. But when he lost the favour of the King, and the world turned against him, all failed him. "He wept like a woman, and wailed like a child." Where the treasure is, there the heart is also. More's heart had never been set upon the world, and so he retired from the Chancellorship with unaffected delight to his literary pursuits at Chelsea, giving himself up with the greatest content to writings in defence of the Catholic Faith against the errors to which Luther's revolt had given birth. He found little sympathy from his wife. "Tilly-vally, Mr. More," she said (you may remember this exclamation which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Mrs. Quickly, equivalent to our "pooh-pooh" or "tut-tut"). "Tilly-vally, will you sit and make goslings in the ashes? My mother always told me it was better to rule than be ruled." More received these observations with much the same composure as Socrates did those of his wife Xanthippe. After all his gains at the bar, after all his employments in the State, he was poor—such had been his unselfishness and his generosity. He had realised about £100 a year, worth, say, £700 or £800 a year at the present day. "Well," he said to his household—his daughters and his sons-in-law—"before I was Chancellor I had experience of poorer

fare, the commons of Oxford and the commons of the Inns of Court. We will fall back first on the one, and then, if necessary, on the other; and if we fail in providing even such meagre fare, we can but beg at last, and we will sing boldly the *Salve Regina* from door to door, in spite of all that Tyndall and others have said against hymns to our Lady." But he was not to live unmolested in his retirement. First, Henry VIII. summoned him to be present at his public marriage with Anne Boleyn. With this invitation he refused to comply, and so earned the implacable hatred of both. Henry had now determined to sever himself wholly from the jurisdiction of the Pope, and to declare himself the sole head of the Church in England. This was, of course, complete and absolute schism, a total separation from the body of the Catholic Church. That he was able to effect it as he did remains to my mind the most inexplicable phenomenon in all history. That individuals or nations should revolt from the Church we can all understand. Such was the course of the Reformation in Germany and in Scotland. But in England there was no revolt whatever. Opinions against the Faith, so far from being fostered, were sternly and even cruelly repressed. Those who held them were the merest handful. The Church was to all outward appearance in as high and healthy a condition as ever it had been. The Bishops and mitred Abbots held their seats in the House of Lords. The universities and colleges throughout the land were schools not merely of learning but of orthodox religious teaching. Yet at once, at the bidding of a tyrant, mad with self-will and passions which never knew check or rein, this splendid episcopacy and clergy, and the laity whom they drew after them, renounced so cardinal a doctrine of the Catholic Faith as the supremacy of the Pope.

There does not appear to have been a single voice of dissent, or even hesitation, in either House of Parliament when the law was passed which not only ratified the schism, but made it high treason to declare a contrary opinion.

To attribute all this to dastardly fear is impossible. There were no braver people than the English for anything in which they had their hearts. We are forced to the conclusion that their hearts were then not in spiritual but in material things, and that although the Church of England flourished in outward splendour there was some canker at the root. More, in his Chelsea retirement, was not blind to the coming storm. Having asked his daughter, Margaret Roper, one day how the world

went and how Queen Anne did. "In faith, father," said she, "never better. There is nothing else in the court but dancing and sporting." "Never better!" said he. "Alas! Meg, it pitith me to remember unto what misery, poor soul, she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances that she will spurn our heads off like footballs, but it will not be long till her head will dance the like dance." The crisis soon came; the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy, who freely took it, but as yet it had not been tendered to any layman. It was resolved to begin with Sir Thomas More, in the expectation that if he did not resist no other would. It was on the morning of the 13th April that he received the summons to appear at Lambeth. Before he went thither, he went, according to his custom, to Chelsea church, and there was confessed and received at Mass devoutly the Blessed Sacrament. He left his home with great heaviness of heart. He took his son-in-law, Roper, in the boat with him, for they went by water. He sat silent for a long time, but at last he spoke, and his words were these: "My son, I thank our Lord that the field is won." What occurred when he was brought in before the Commissioners he narrates in a letter to his daughter. It is to the following effect: After he was called before them he requested of them to see the oath, which when he had read unto himself he answered that he neither would find fault with the oath, nor with the authors of it, nor would blame the conscience of any man who had taken it, but for himself—he could not take it without endangering his soul of eternal damnation, which, if they doubted of, he would swear unto them that that was the chief cause of his refusal, in which second oath if they did not trust him, how then could they trust him in the former? Lord Chancellor Audley told him they were heartily sorry to hear him make such an answer, and that he was the first man who had refused the oath. Thereupon he was commanded to walk about the garden and bethink himself; and, in the meantime, those of the clergy who had been summoned for the same morning were called, in—some bishops, many doctors, and priests—and all took it, except Bishop Fisher and one Dr. Wilson, without any scruple, stop, or stay; and the Vicar of Croydon, says Sir Thomas, called for a cup of beer at the buttery bar, and drank very familiarly. Sir Thomas was then called in again, and the oath tendered him anew, enforced by the examples of those who had taken it. Upon his persisting in his refusal he was

severely rated for his obstinacy, and he was given in charge to the Abbot of Westminster in a kind of honourable imprisonment. This lasted only four days, at the end of which the oath was offered to him for the third time; and on his third refusal he was committed to the Tower. He still kept up his spirits and his sportive disposition. The lieutenant of the Tower had been an old friend of his, and under many obligations to him, and he came to Sir Thomas excusing himself for the hard fare which he was forced to give him, saying he would treat him much better but for fear of the King's displeasure. "Indeed, Master Lieutenant," said Thomas More, "I heartily believe you and thank you. I do not think I am likely to find fault with your treatment of me, but, if ever I do, I give you free leave to thrust me out of doors."

After he had been in prison about a month, his daughter Margaret succeeded in getting access to him. He said to her: "I believe, Meg, that they who have put me here think they have done me a high displeasure, but I assure thee, on my faith, mine own good daughter, that if it had not been for my wife and you, my children, whom I account the chief part of my charge, I would not have failed long ere this to have closed myself in as strait a room as this, and straiter too. I find no cause to reckon myself here in worse case than in my own house, for methinks God, by this imprisonment, maketh me one of his wantons (that is, his favourite children), and setteth me upon his lap, and dandleth me even as He has done all his best friends."

From his wife he received but cold comfort. She was really a devoted wife, and spared no pains or sacrifices to obtain for him whatever material conveniences he was permitted to receive, but his state of mind was a mere bewildering riddle to her. She rated him soundly for lying there through mere obstinacy, as she thought, in a filthy prison, when he had only to speak one word and be restored to his fair house in Chelsea, his books, his family, and his friends. "Don't you think, Mistress Alice," said he, "that this place is as near to heaven as Chelsea?" And when she answered with her usual petulant exclamation of "Tilly-vally!" he said, more seriously: "Suppose I were to go back to my house in Chelsea, how long do you think we would live to enjoy it?" "Possibly twenty years," said she. "Twenty years!" said he; "why, if you had said a thousand years it would have been something, and yet he would be a very bad merchant that would put himself

in danger to lose eternity for a thousand years; how much the rather, as we are not sure of it for one day." If his constancy was, on the one hand, thus assailed in vain, it was on the other hand greatly fortified and strengthened by the example of the Carthusian monks, whom Henry caused to be butchered with all the horrible details of the punishment of high treason. The reason why More was so long detained in the Tower was this. To refuse to take the oath of supremacy was only misprision of treason, punishable by imprisonment and forfeiture of goods. To amount to high treason there should be a denial of the King's royal style and title of Head of the Church. Every possible effort had been made to induce More to commit himself in this respect, but he had been upon his guard. He had employed his time in prison in writing religious works. To deprive him even of this consolation Henry sent an order to take away his little supply of books, and even his writing materials. The execution of this commission devolved upon a lawyer named Rich, then Solicitor-General and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He was instructed to use the opportunity to elicit from More, if he could, either an admission or a plain denial of the supremacy. So, when the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the gentlemen who accompanied Rich were busy in packing up More's little library, Rich took him aside into the embrasure of a window and commenced speaking with him, as if in the familiar and confidential tone of one who had been his brother-lawyer. He opened the subject of the supremacy. "Come now, Mr. More," said he, "suppose there were an act of Parliament to make me king, would you not take me for king?" "Yes, I would," said More. "Well, come now," said Rich, thinking he saw his advantage, "suppose there were an act of Parliament that all the realm should take me for Pope, would you not take me for Pope?" "Well," said More, "Parliament can very well settle the temporal affairs of princes, but in answer to your last question, let me put one to you. Supposing Parliament were to enact that God should not be God, what would you say in such a case?" "Oh," said Rich, "no Parliament could make such a law." More remained silent, discerning his drift well enough, and the books being packed the conversation ended. Nevertheless, even upon this slender evidence, Henry was resolved to bring him to his trial. A special commission under the Great Seal was issued for that purpose, consisting of Audley, the Lord Chancellor, and of several of the nobility and the judges. He

was arraigned on the 7th of May, 1535, but in the hope of obtaining some better evidence the trial was put off till the 1st July. "On the morning of the trial," says Lord Campbell, upon whose language it would be impossible to improve, "More was led on foot, in a coarse, woollen gown through the most frequented streets from the Tower to Westminster Hall. The colour of his hair, which had become gray since he last appeared in public; his face, which, though still cheerful, was pale and emaciated; his bent posture, and his feeble steps, which he was obliged to support with his staff, showed the rigour of his confinement and excited the sympathy of the people, instead of impressing them, as was intended, with dread of the royal authority. When, sordidly dressed, he held up his hand as a criminal in that place where, arrayed in his magisterial robes and surrounded by crowds who watched his smile, he had been accustomed on his knees to ask his father's blessing before mounting his own tribunal to determine as sole judge on the most important rights of the highest subjects in the realm, a general feeling of horror and commiseration ran through the spectators; and after the lapse of three centuries, during which statesmen, prelates, and kings have been unjustly brought to trial under the same roof, considering the splendour of his talents, the greatness of his acquirements, and the innocence of his life, we must still regard his murder as the blackest crime ever perpetrated in England under the form of law."

After all, strange to say, he was on the point of being acquitted. He showed so unanswerably that there was not a particle of evidence to bring him within the terms of the statute, that it would have been impossible to find a verdict against him, but for the part which Solicitor-General Rich earned his promotion by playing. An acquittal, indeed, would have been only a temporary respite. It would have simply given Henry the very slight trouble of getting an Act of Attainder passed by his servile Parliament; but from this necessity his Solicitor-General rescued him. Leaving his place at the bar where he was prosecuting, he slipped into the witness-box, and detailed the conversation he had had with More in the Tower, with an addition which was a pure fabrication, namely, that when he had said that no Parliament could enact that God should not be God, Sir Thomas had replied, "No more, then, can Parliament make the King the head of the Church." When this shocking piece of perjury was delivered,

Sir Thomas More answered with all the dignity that became him, but at the same time with a righteous scorn for the wretch who was thus forsworn: "If I were a man, my Lords, who did not regard an oath, I needed not at this time in this place, as is well known to every one, to stand as an accused person, and if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken be true, I pray I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the whole world." He then related what really occurred between them, adding quietly: "In truth, Mr. Rich, I am more sorry for your perjury than for my peril."

The senseless rule of the English law, which to this hour debars an accused person from giving evidence on his own behalf, enabled the Lord Chancellor in charging the jury to tell them they were to attach no weight to the denial of the prisoner as against the oath of the Solicitor-General; and so after an absence of fifteen minutes, the jury who, no doubt, had been carefully selected beforehand, returned a verdict of Guilty. Such was the flutter of the court at securing the verdict, of which for some time they had been in doubt, that the Lord Chancellor was about pronouncing sentence without even going through the essential legal form of giving the prisoner the opportunity of speaking in arrest of judgment. "My Lord," said Sir Thomas, very calmly, "when I was towards the law, the manner in such cases was to ask the prisoner, before sentence, whether he could give a reason why judgment should not proceed against him." The Lord Chancellor stopped, and had the question put to him, but I need hardly add that all the prisoner said against the statute and the form of the indictment was said in vain, and the following sentence was pronounced: "That Thomas More, Knight, be brought back to the Tower of London, by William Bingston, Sheriff, and from thence drawn on a hurdle through the City of London to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he be half dead, after that cut down yet alive, be ripped open, his entrails burned, and his four quarters set up over four gates of the city, and his head upon London Bridge."

This frightful sentence had been literally executed in all its details on the poor Carthusian monks; but in the case of Sir Thomas More, Privy Councillor and Lord Chancellor, custom and mere decency compelled the King to commute it into simple beheading. To Sir Thomas, I suppose, it made little difference. When this change of his punishment was

announced to him with a pompous declaration of the King's great mercy in remitting all the rest of the sentence, he answered with his usual grave irony: "God forbid that the King should show such mercy to any of my friends, and God preserve my posterity from such pardons."

To return, however, to what occurred immediately after his sentence. He then, as if a load had been lifted from his mind, declared that he now at last felt himself free to speak out what he thought of this law. He said he had studied for seven years together through all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and that he never could find a trace of authority for the position that a layman could be head of the Church. The Judges then assailed him with the same cry which had been round him from the beginning, asking him why he should be so obstinate as to set himself against the Bishops of the realm. "Bishop for Bishop," said Sir Thomas; "where you can produce one I can produce a hundred; and as against this single realm, the consent of all Christendom for more than a thousand years." He wound up his speech very beautifully. "More have I to say, my Lords, but that like the blessed Apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, who was present and consenting to the death of the proto-martyr, St. Stephen, holding their clothes that stoned him to death; and yet they be now both twain holy saints in heaven and there shall continue friends for ever; so I verily trust and shall heartily pray that, though your Lordships have been on earth my Judges to condemnation, yet we may hereafter meet in heaven merrily together to our everlasting salvation." He was borne from Westminster Hall to the Tower, with the edge of the axe turned towards him as was usual in the case of persons attainted of treason. When he reached the Tower wharf, a very touching scene awaited him. His daughter, Margaret Roper, his best-beloved child, was there to receive his last blessing. Without consideration or care of herself, passing through the midst of the throng and guard of men, who with bills and halberts compassed him round, she there openly, in sight of them all, clasped him round the neck and kissed him, unable to utter any word but "Oh! my father, oh! my father!" He blessed her, and exhorted her to patience and submission to the will of God. Even now when he had tranquilly made up his mind to die, the King would not let him be in peace. He would have bought his apostasy at any price. A courtier came to him with the old importunity that

he would change his mind; to which Sir Thomas answered at last, "Well, I have changed my mind." The courtier running off to the King with the news was at once commanded to go back and learn in what his mind was changed. "Well," said Sir Thomas, "I will tell you the truth. I had intended to shave before I died, but I have changed my mind, and now I intend that my beard shall go with my head." The night before his execution he wrote with a coal (the only material within his reach) a very beautiful letter to his daughter Margaret, sending her at the same time privately his shirt of hair and scourge, not wishing that the world should publicly know that he used these austerities.

On the morning of the 5th July, Sir Thomas Pope came to him and told him that it was the King's pleasure he should die that day. Pope, who brought the message, had been a friend of More's, and he burst into tears as he spoke. More, as it were, reversing their offices, comforted him, talking cheerily in his usual pleasant vein.

On his way to the scaffold a charitable woman offered him a cup of wine, which he declined, saying that Christ drank only vinegar and gall. Another woman took this very fitting occasion to importune him about some papers, which she said were left with him when he was Chancellor. "Have patience with me, good woman," said he, "and in another hour the King will relieve me from all trouble about your papers and all things else."

His bright wit, the testimony of a still brighter conscience, attended him to the last. His confinement had weakened him so much that he required help in ascending the scaffold. "Assist me up," said he to the Lieutenant of the Tower, "and in coming down I will shift for myself." And what he said to the executioner when his head was actually on the block, is the best known of all his utterances. "Wait," said he, "till I put aside my beard, for that never committed treason."

The mean and brutal resentment of Henry was not satisfied with his death. He not only seized on his property under the law confiscating to the Crown the estates of traitors, but he had a special Act of Parliament passed for the purpose of annulling a settlement which More had made upon his children before the Supremacy Statute had been thought of. All he allowed his widow was a pension of £20 a year.

At the tidings of his death a cry of horror arose from all

Europe, which has found its echo down to our day. In justice to mankind it is to be said, that writers of all times and all tongues have united in execrating the atrocious iniquity of which he was the victim. I was about to say without exception; but there is one. That exception is Mr. James Anthony Froude, the same who has published three octavo volumes in support of his view, that the capital fault of England in dealing with the Catholics of Ireland has been too great leniency and gentleness. He has chosen to adopt King Henry VIII. as his hero, and we may pardon him for the sake of the result; for, let him paint him an inch thick, he succeeds on the whole in rendering, if possible, more truly hideous than he appears in the pages of any other writer. Mr. Froude alone justifies Henry's proceedings towards More. But it is not pleasant to have to say that in his account he entirely suppresses the flagrant perjury of Rich, suppresses the Lord Chancellor's indecent and illegal precipitation in passing sentence, and, worst of all, suppresses the grasping vindictiveness of Henry in deliberately seeking to reduce to beggary the family of the man who had been his companion, preceptor, and bosom friend in days gone by.

That I may not part from Mr. Froude in entire reprobation, I have to add that I cordially concur with him when he says that, if England had held many men as ready to lay down their lives for the Faith as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and the saintly monks of the Charterhouse, the change of religion in that kingdom would have been impossible. He adds from his point of view: "Perhaps it would not have been needed."

It was to the honour, and, let us hope, to the eventual good of England that she *did* produce a few such men. It was to her ruin, spiritually speaking, that she produced no more. I cannot more fitly conclude than with a portion of a sonnet of the poet Wordsworth:

"Therefore to the tomb
Pass some through fire, and by the scaffold some,
Like saintly Fisher and unbending More.
Lightly for both the bosom's lord did sit
Upon his throne—unsoftened, undismayed
By aught that mingled with the tragic scene
Of pity or of fear; and More's gay genius played
With the inoffensive sword of native wit,
Than the bare axe more luminous and keen."

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NOTE

The "Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation," reprinted in this volume is one of those rare documents that under the guise of fiction intimately reveal a man's moods and true character under mortal care and anxiety. Although written during the last fourteen months of his life, it is, as M. Bremond says in his work upon Sir Thomas More, the most smiling and reposeful of all his works. In it we hear the two Hungarians, "Antonio, an old man, and his nephew Vincent, discussing the approach-

ing invasion of the Turks, and arming themselves with tranquillity against the imminent catastrophe. We, who know the end of the story, feel a thrill every time the Grand Turk appears on the page. We know the tyrant's name. But More takes a special pleasure in the pathetic *équivoque*: he smiles at his own idea, and contents himself with adding in a quiet little parenthesis: 'There is no born Turk so cruel to Christian folk as is the false Christian that falleth from the faith.'"

The Dialogue, it may be said, has hardly had the attention it deserves from the ordinary students of More. In its imperfect text, we seem to have the script very much as it left his own hands; a revelation of the man who was religious to the very roots of his being, but never let his gaiety decline, not even with death and the scaffold frowning at his prison door. In preparing it for the reader here, we have made the smallest change, in dealing with the contractions and printer's errors, compatible with rendering it clear and fairly intelligible.

The Introduction to the present volume is reprinted from the *Irish Monthly Magazine*, 1876, by permission of Rev. J. Russell, S.J.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND HIS VERIE
SINGULER GOOD MAISTER,

MAISTER WILLIAM CECYLLE,
ESQUIERE,

ONE OF THE TWOO PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES TO THE
KYNG HIS MOSTE EXCELLENTE MAJESTIE,
RAPHE ROBYNSON WISSHETH CONTINUANCE
OF HEALTH, WITH DAYLY INCREASE OF
VERTUE, AND HONOUR

UPON a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke abouthe them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme up harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thynge, and some another for the defendinge, and strengthenyng of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, having no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble up and downe hether and thether upon the hille syde, that lieth adjoyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold he have none. This seing one of his frendes, and not a litell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason that I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge,

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that shall or may be for the avauncement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my native countrey: yet I seing every sort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inventions, and devises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at the becke, and commaundement of others, cold conveniently winne to me self: that though no commoditie of that my labour, and travaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, that myne endevoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishment therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke upon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas More knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth the best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More the authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for the excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for the high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knownen, not only among us his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations: therfore I have not much to speake of him. This only I saye: that it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of us English men, that a man of so incomparable witte, of so profunde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neverthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to persever, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie even to the very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for the matter that it containeth frutefull and profitable, but also for the writers eloquent Latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he that readeth in Latine, as the authour himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in the sweete eloquence of the writer, and also in the wittie

invencion, and fine conveiaunce, or disposition of the matter: but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and abounding. But nowe I feare greatly that in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignorauance in our English tonge all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherwith the matter in Latine is finely set forth may seeme to be utterly excluded, and lost: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peradventure diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Whereas on the other side rude, and unlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale evel tolde were better untold, and an evell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom above al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke upon my weake and feble sholders the heavie and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with divers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought the worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continually to assault me, until he had at the laste, what by the force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntyng herof. He therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger, whyche upon this bolde and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr, for the better avoyding of envyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne or wyll take paynes in the well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth; but also for youre godlye dysposytyon and vertuous qualytyes not unworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate unto youre good maystershyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly

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that under the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe and revive (which of late, as you know, I have already begonne to do) that old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes together. Not doubting that you for your native goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil and hartye affection towardes you is not, by reason of long tract of time and separation of our bodies, any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented and increased. This verely is the chieffe cause, that hath encouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentlenes to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed: neither yet fitte and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy as you be. But Almighty God (who therfore ever be thanked) hath avaunced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully as well a mans good will as his gift.

The same god graunte you
and all yours long, and
joyfully to contynue
in all godlynes and
prosperytye.

(. . .)

THE TRANSLATOR

TO THE GENTLE READER

THOU shalte understande gentle reader that thoughte this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundyng to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, and in short tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin proverbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceaving therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

*Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.
Si illud, quod est maxumè opus jactu non cadit :
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.*

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanyng therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hath sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage.

To the Reader

By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geveth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intente prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no evyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this bychaunce, that on my side unwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somewhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact at the first, as surely for my smale lerning it should have done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that verye fewe great faultes and notable errorres are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most

gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation,
and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche
there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt,
in just consideration of the premisses,
gentlye and favourablye winke at
them. So doyngē thou shalt
minister unto me good cause
to thinkē my labour
and paynes herein
not altogetheres
bestowed in
vaine.

VALE

THOMAS MORE TO PETER GILES,

sendeth gretynge

I AM almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition, or conveiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: forasmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firste not studied for, but suddein and unpremitate, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my wrytynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche laboure, havinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the invention, or the disposition of this matter myghte have required of a witte neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leisure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter shoulde also have been wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I have perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now seyng all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leisure. Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time

about lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a Judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende: another waye about myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne: I leave to my self, I meane to my booke no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amongo businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amongo them, whom eyther nature hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons, of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his servauntes, make them his maysters. Emonge these thynge now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I steale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, though it be longe first, finished Utopia, and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge have escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For though in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somewhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorie) yet have I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my boye, who as you know was there presente with us, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring up both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he I saye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorie fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe over the

river of Anyder is fyve hundred paseis, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of those paseis muste be plucked away, for that the ryver conteyneth there not above three hundred paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe deceaved. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I have done and as myne owne remembraunce serveth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woerde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for another doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel us in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather have spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus have escaped us: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certen men, and especiallie one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of divinitie, who is excedyng desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hiegh Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete. For he counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shal be well done, that you shewe unto him the book it selfe. For yf I have myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte have escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and

yet that can he not do, oneles he peruse and reade over my booke written. Moreover by this meanes shall you perceave, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde undertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshes and put forth his owne laboures, and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde prevent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noveltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so divers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a jocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thynge, that maye be either profett or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheles will disdainfully, scornefully, and unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of use. Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene the shulders, that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. Some seli poore soules be so afearde that at everye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of everye quicke and sharpe woorde, then he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and waverynge, that everye houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sytteth upon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordynge to his writyng, in moste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them selves in the meane season sauffe, and as sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshott. For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they have not so

much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreover some so unkynde and ungentle, that thoughte they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to love the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woord: beyng much like uncourteous, unthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when they have with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, gevyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, and make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so divers in taste, and besides that of so unkynde and unthankfull natures. But nevertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe advisement. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter,

if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll
as touchyng the edition of publishyng of the
booke, followe the counsell and advise of my
frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare
you well right hertely beloved frende

Peter, with your gentle wife: and
love me as you have ever
done, for I love you
better then ever
I dyd.

UTOPIA

¶ *The first Booke of*
THE COMMUNICATION OF
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
Concernyng the best state of a commen welth

THE moste victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince most perelesse, hadde of late in controversie with Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Castell, weighty matters and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wherof, the kinges Majesty sent me ambassadour into Flaunders, joyned in Commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of comparison, and whom the Kynges Majestie of late, to the great rejoysyng of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maister of the Rolles.

But of this mannes prayses I wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doo feare that small credence shal be geven to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saieth. There mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Commissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselles, a man not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng and debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise,

surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and upon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leave of us, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a Citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condicions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man useth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertwynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the fervente desyre, that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iiiii. Monethes from them. *Upon a certayne daye when I hadde herde the divine service in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldynge in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonne-burned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome by his favoure and apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came unto me and saluted me. And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poyned to the man, that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him strayghte home to you. He should have ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day living, that can tell you of so manye straunge and unknownen peoples, and

Countryes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of such newes. Then I conjectured not farre a misse (quod I) for even at the first syght I judged him to be a mariner. Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyved: he hath sailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Ulisses: yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato. For this same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he ever bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geven himselfe wholy to the study of Philosophy. Wheroft he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, savyng a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne unto, he lefte to his brethren (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countryes of the worlde, he joyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those iiiii. that be nowe in printe and abrode in every mannes handes, he continued styl in his company, savyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by impertune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against his wyll) to be one of the xxiiii whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for travailyng, then dyenge: havyng customably in his mouth these saiynge. He that hathe no grave, is covered with the skye: and, the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed thorough and aboute many Countryes with v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merveylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countrye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countrye, nothyng lesse then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse that he had vouchsafed to bryng me to the speache of that man, whose communication he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other, and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye

spoken at the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine upon a bench covered with greene torves, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde us, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiynge with them verye familiarly. He tolde us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyve companions. And besides that gave theim a trustye guyde to conducte them in their journey (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to bryng theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes journeys, he sayd, they founde townes and Cities and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and holsome lawes. For under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dried up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and unpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of fassyon and comelinesse, inhabited with the wylde Beastes and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim selves be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupiynge of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with theire Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on every syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte and broade in the botome, troughe wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after, havyng all thynges lyke oures.

The shipmen also very experte and cunnyng, bothe in the sea and in the wether. But he saide that he founde great favoure and frendship amonge them, for teachynge them the feate and the use of the lode stone. Whiche to them before that time was unknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull upon the sea. Nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooyng farther from care then daunger. In so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to evyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious. But what he tolde us that he sawe in everye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee knownen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely provided and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do live together in a civile policye and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde us of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive. For nothyng is more easye to bee founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and Lestrigones devourers of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monsters. But to fynde Citisens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceeding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and folissh lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersed divers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreis, and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errors. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate. Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde us of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repeate oure former communication by thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the drift wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges that be amissee, some here and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes; and againe had spoken of suche wise lawes and prudente decrees, as be established and used, bothe here amonge us and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of every

severall Countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure there is no Prince living, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke. As concernyng my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For these thynge, that other men doo not departe from, untyl they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leave, when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynge dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, divide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefullly, not onlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvaunce-
ment of your self to a much welthier state and condition, then you be nowe in. To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they have not me, nor iii. or iiij. such other as I am. Well, I perceive playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And truly I have in no lesse reverence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoyn特 and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale

publique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that withoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour. You be twyse deceaved maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force upon me, and yf it wer never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes have more delyte in warlike matters and feates of chivalrie (the knowlege wherof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace; and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and governe that they have alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, every one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe another mans counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly geve assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose favours, because they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geven to all men to esteme their owne inventions best. So both the Raven and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and have despite at other mens inventions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places; there the hearers fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in jeopardy to be overthrowen, and that ever after thei shoulde be counted for verye diserdes, unles they could in other mens inventions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at. If all other poore helps fayle, then this is their extreame refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped every mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a

very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might have ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast holde, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such proude, leude, overthwarte and waywarde judgementes, yea, and once in England: I prai you Syr (quod I) have you ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of iiiii. or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, that the Westerne English men made agaynst their kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reverende father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man, Mayster Peter, (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to prove, but withoute harme, what prompte witte and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. These qualtyes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnynge and use had made perfecte. The kynge put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned unto hym, when I was there. For even in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole into the courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and adversities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experiance of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnyng in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wheroft takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to

prayse that strayte and rygorous justice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste parte xx. hanged together upon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theves nevertheles were in every place so ryffe and so rancke. Naye, Syr, quod I (for I durst boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal) marvel nothinge here at: for this punyshment of theves passeth the limites of Justice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealyng, which have no other craft, wherby to get their living. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punishmentes be appointed for theves, whereas much rather provision should have ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their living, so that no man shoulde be dryven to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough provided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livinge by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe ago, oute of Blackeheath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: suche, I saye, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse. But let us considre those things that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke dorres, of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shave to the quicke, by reisyg their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els through their lavasse and prodigall spendynge, hable to brynghe theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenessse themselves, but also carrie about with them at their

tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandred abrode so longe, untyl they have worne thredbare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched cotes, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel yngoue that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beyng deynately and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by saynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste of. For in them as men of stowter stomaches, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength and puissaunce of oure army, when we muste fight in battayle. Forsothe, sir, as well you myghte saye (quod I) that for warres sake you muste cheryshe theves. For suerly you shall never lacke theves, whyles you have them. No nor theves be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in under the same colour and pretense, that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servynge men. For thies wyse fooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthie of the whole countrey herin to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may ever have practised souldiours and cunnyng mansleiers,

lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should waxe dul. But howe pernitious and pestilente a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and Cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redinesse. Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours, which from their youth have ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor advaunce themselves to have very often gotte the upper hand and maistry of your new made and unpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I wyl not use many woordes, leste perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle servyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe povertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby to gette their livynges, whose stoute and sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unnable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable to the weale publique, for warre sake, which you never have, but when you wyl your selfes, to kepe and mainteyn an unnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace, wheroft you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I) your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up, and swallow downe the very men them selfes. They consume, destroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therfore dearest

woll, there noblemen, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearlye revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doun houses: they plucke downe townes, and leave nothinge standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepe-howse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plague of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboue and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coveyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knownen and accustomed houses, fyndynge no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verye little woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be constrainyd to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboue and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is yngouge to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyyng wherof aboue husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe

dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and unsaciable covetousness, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more justly shoulde have fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much the more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the breadyng of younge stoore. For these riche men bryng not up the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they be fattet in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedyng deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte up: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousnes of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their servauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye and miserable povertie is joyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, and excessive riote. For not only gentle mennes servauntes, but also handicrafte men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other sortes of people, use muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet another stewes, wyne-tavernes, ale houses, and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunters of them streyghte a stealyng, when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche

plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde and upreender the possession therof to suche as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either povertie hath caused to be theves, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel serving men, and shortelye wilbe theves. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine advaunce your selves of executing justice upon fellons. For this justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishyng to the shewe, then either juste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even frome theyr tender age, by little and little with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves and then punish them? Now as I was thus speakinge, the lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in rehersinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you have said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then have any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaved, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumentes, and confute them every one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make suche a beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aunswere, but kepe it to youre nexte meatyng, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be even to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael have any earnest let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be punished with deathe, or what other

punischemente you can devise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punischemente of deathe can not cause them to leave stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be suer of their lyves; what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to countervayle mans life. But if they would thus say: that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? For so cruell governaunce, so streite rules, and unmerciful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinances are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his moneyn from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we have anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle moneyn? And if any man woulde understande killing by this commaundement of God to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication, and perjurie may be lawfull? For whereas, by the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men, oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God have killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason folow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the observation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyses law, though it were ungentle and sharpe,

as a law that was geven to bondmen; yea, and them very obstinate, stubborne, and styrnecked: yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wylth death. And let us not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, under the whiche he ruleth us with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children, hathe geven us greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one upon another. Nowe ye have heard the reasons whereby I am persuaded that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe seynge that man, that is condempned for thefte in no less jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter; throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. For the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knownen, seynge the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discribed: yet he is in no more daunger and jeoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious and better; that truelye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be warse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publike mooste experte, politique, and cunnyng? Suche as amonge them were convicte of great and heynous trespasses, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe

mountaines, and do content them selves with the fruites of their owne lande, which is of it selfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordyng to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they have by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knownen as much as by name, I suppose saving only to theyr next neighbours and bordours. They that in this lande be atteinted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner, and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to have no more righte to the thief stolen thinge, then the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they them selves be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the theft be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in gives, but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboue theyr worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen servauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of almes. And though that waye be uncertein, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the revewenes whereof they be mainteined. And in some places everye man geveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these serving men (for so be these damped persons called) do no common worke, but as everye private man nedeth labours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limittted waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is

also lawefull for them to chastice the slouthe of these servinge men with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, everye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and every one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Every one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne coloure: but to receive money is deathe, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure. And no lesse jeoperdie it is for a free man to receive moneye of a seruynge manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for servinge men to touche weapons. The servinge men of every severall shire be distincte and knownen frome other by their severall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a servinge man of another shyre. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a servinge man it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and uttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a serving man freedome: and to them bothe forgevenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I have shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is used, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceave: Forasmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyschemente intendeth nothyng elles, but the destruction of vices, and savynge of menne: wyth so usynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so ever they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make amendes for the same. Moreover it is so little feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyll for their savegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in every shiere chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of

his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknownen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discribed by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr hedges together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the servyng man of one sheire alone coulde never hooke to bringe to passe such an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, and alluryng the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not as much as speake or talke togetheres, or salute one an other. No, it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll ever after that, lyve like a trewe and an honest man. For everye yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayinge moreover that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Justice whiche the lawyer so heighly praysed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde never be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great jeoperdie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to judge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geven, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and spared, and would prove this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priviliges of all saintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the condempned and reprived persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so

litle prevailed. When the Cardinal had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was estemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the Cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were best to reherse the communication that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same in dede that he labored to represent: he so studied with wordes and sayinges brought furth so out of time and place to make sporte and move laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his jestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stiffe, that he made the proverbe true, which saith: he that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when one of the company sayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theves, and that the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and unweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their livinge: Tushe (quod he) let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sumwher oute of my sight, they have so sore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they have wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde never to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they ever got of me one farthinge. For ever more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. For when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shal be made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare, graduate in divinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this jeste of priestes and monkes, that he also beyng elles a man of grislie and sterne gravitie, began

merilie and wantonlye to jeste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some provision also for us frears. Why, quod the jester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This jest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprove it, every man toke it gladly, savyng onely the frear. For he (and that no marveile) beyng thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie scripture. Then the jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at that, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe, good maister freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saieth: in youre patience you shall save your soules. Then the freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete himselfe. No my lord, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church. The skorners of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the house of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this skorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolish contention. No forsoeth, my lorde, (quod he) I shoulde not do more wyselye. For Salomon the wyse saieth: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, and acursed. The cardinal, seeing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communication to

an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, and so dismissed us. Looke maister More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche thoughe I have done sumwhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgemente of them, whyche when they had improved and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters folish inventions: bicause that he him selfe by smiling at them did seme not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me and my sayinges. I ensure you, maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte up of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And, frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate love towardes you before, yet seynge you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towardes you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleve, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to followe some princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothyng more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato judgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles if kynges geve themselves to the studie of philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kinges with their good counsell? They be not so unkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye have done it alreadye in bookes that they have put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, oneless kynges themselves woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde

never thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselves before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with perverse, and evill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, doyng my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driven awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquer the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with divers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a leuge of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. Another woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. Another advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles another gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedom of Navarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or aluyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicione as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunders the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover previlie and secretlye (for

openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe juste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtille meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they have but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I selie man shoulde rise up and will them to tourne over the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedom of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be governed of one man: so that the kyng shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more; and then shoulde propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate over agaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the south-easte side. These Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an sawe that they hadde even as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subjectes by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with divers inrodes and forragynges invadyng them: so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes: Seyng them selves in the meane season pylled and impoverished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorie of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbing and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these evelles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kyng free choise and libertie to kepe styll the one of these two

kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome and to geve over the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurleiburley, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of Fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourisshing as he could, to endevoure him selfe to love his subjectes, and againe to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is even ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can well turne hym to: this myne advyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken? So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I. Wel let us procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes and devisinge, what subtell crafte they myght invente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus great sommes shal be payd wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shal be receaved. Another counselleth to fayne warre, that when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundinge of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solemnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving and a mercifull prince. Another putteth the kyng in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable,

as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice. Another advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be used, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by takinge forfaytes of them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is, forsothe the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone anye thinge that is againste the proffite of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceeding dere prycce. Another giveth the kynge counsel to endaunger unto his grace the judges of the Realme, that he maye have them ever on his side, and that they maye in everye matter despite and reason for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shal be no matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein one or other of them, either because he wyl have sumthinge to allege and objecte or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree amonges them selfes, reasoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in dowte: in the meane season the Kinge maye take a fyt occasion to understand the lawe as shal moste make for his advaantage, whereunto all other for shame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Judges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that geveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shal be sufficient for him to have equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested understandinge of the same, or els (whiche with good and just Judges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the ryche Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, though he would, can do nothinge unjustlye. For all that all men have, yea also the men them selfes be all his. And that every man hath so much of his owne, as the kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shal be moste for the

kinges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose savegarde doth herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, unjuste, and unlawefull commaundementes; whereas on the other part neade and povertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse up, and boldelye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al live wealthily sauffe from wronges and injuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office and dewtie of a shephearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to consiste in the povertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfal) then they that have nowe nothinge to leese? And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly estemed, yea so behated of his subjectes, that other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, sewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the majestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of

his subjectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyve of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreyne wyckednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile. Here if I should bryng forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounde of golde or sylver: They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for thenriching of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording up so muche money as might impovertyshe their people. For he forsawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be to litle and unsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Suche a kynge shal be feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde use among men wholye inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I have? Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marveyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communica-

tion shalbe used, or such counsell geven, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be alredye prevented: with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place. That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is an other philosophye more civile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behavinge hereselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste use. Or els whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye come upon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to have played the domme persone, then by rehersynge that, whych served neither for the tyme nor place, to have made such a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stiffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the presente matter, you muste nedes marre and pervert the play that is in hand, thoughe the stiffe that you bringe be muche better. What part soever you have taken upon you, playe that aswel as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and bryng oute of ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummethe to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf evel opinions and nougthy persuasions can not be utterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not even as you wolde remedy vices, which use and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muste not laboure to dryve into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrarye mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and

endeavour youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares. By this meanes (quod he) nothing elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be even as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges; but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, though peradventure it maye seme unplesaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishelye newefangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato fayneth in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thinges though they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of plate. Forasmuche as here amonges us, everye man hathe his possesions severall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communica-
tion conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Savynge that to them whyche have thoroughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verilye yf all thynges that evel and vitiouse maners have caused to seme inconveniente and noughe should be refused, as thinges unmete and reprochefull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he com-
maunded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most parte of them is more dissident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers, slie and wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men evel willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myghte agree together. Wherby I can not see what good they have done: but that men may more sickerlye be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as litle in kinges counselles. For either I muste saye other-

wayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study and endevoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible they may not be very evel. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approved. He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the compayne of them whych wyl soner perverte a good man, then be made good them selfes: through whose evel company he shal be marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shal be imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftye wyele, and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarme into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can not persuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they should nothinge prevayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selfes within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse, maister More, (to speke truelye as my mynde geveth me) where possessions be private, where money bearethe all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye justeleye be governed, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that Justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of evell men, or that prosperitye there floryssheth, where all is divided amone a fewe: whyche fewe neverthelesse doe not leade theire lives very wealthely, and the resydewe lyve myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amone whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet all

thinges beinge there common, everye man hath aboundinge of everye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations ever makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye furnysshed with lawes: where everye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and private goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiete for everye man to enjoye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, dayle rysynge, never to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marveille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commodities. For the wise man did easely foresee this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed, where everye mans goodes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where everye man under certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundance and stoore, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be covetous, craftye and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitabile to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fullye persuade me selfe, that no equall and juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall ever be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal contine, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy, and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde have in his stocke above a prescripte and appointed some of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde

neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geven to theym by fraude and ravin to gather up their money againe, and by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geven to rich men, which shoulde rather have bene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherissing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evels also might be lightened and mitigated. But that thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea, and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geven to annye one, onles it be taken from an other. But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal never there live wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens travayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with povertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritie and reverence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye have with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot devise. I marvel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceave in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia and had presentelye sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there v. years and moore, and wolde never have commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knownen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you never sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there. Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleve, that there is better order in that newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aswel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires; wherin long use and experience hath found out manye thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge us have bene found by chaunce, whiche no

wytte coulde ever have devysed. As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better judge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleve, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto by witte hath bene devised, or found by chaunce, that myght be aswel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in travaile, and in laboursome endevoure they farre passe us. For (as theire Chronicles testifie) before our arrival there, they never had any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC. yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driven thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that never wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and erneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome wherof any proffite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that ever anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made theire owne, what soever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receave anytinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge us. And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theire common wealthes be wyselyer governed, and doe flourish in more wealth, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseche you describe unto us the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their rivers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet. There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leisure. Let us go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content (quod he) be it. So

we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate us downe upon the same benche, commaunding oure seruautes that no man should trouble us. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

THE END OF THE FIRSTE BOKE

The seconde boke of
THE COMMUNICATION OF
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE,

*Concernyng the best state of a common wealthe conteyninge the
discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike
governement, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same
Ilande*

THE Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodest) CC. miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moste parte of the lande Saving that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compasse of v. C. miles, do fassion the whole Iland like to the new mone. Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, dividyng them a sonder by the distaunce of xi. miles or there aboutes, and there surmountethe into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compassethe it about, and shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth in shypes towardes everye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii. corners, what with fordes and shelves, and what with rockes be verye jeoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knownen onely to themselves. And therfore it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this haven. In so muche that they themselves could skaselye entre withoute jeoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes stand-

ing on the shore. By turninge, translatinge, and removinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye theire enemies navies, be they never so many. The out side or utter circuite of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryve backe many armes. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partly shewe, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, and civile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused xv. myles space of uplandyshe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up. And so brought the sea rounde abouthe the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a nombre of workemen, was with exceedinge marvelous sped dyspatched. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned theire derision to marveyle at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Ilande liiii. large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all set and situate alyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Of these cities they that be nigheste together be xxiiii. myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above one dayes journeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of every cytie iii. old men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (because it standeth juste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiously appoynted oute, and set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx. myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire shieres. For they

counte them selfes rather the good husbandes, then the owners of theire landes. They have in the countrey in all partes of the shiere houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongyng to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl. persones men and women, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all under the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete and aunciente persones. And every xxx. fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx. persones whiche have continewed ij. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that have bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shal be instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is used for feare that either skarsnes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye used, to thintent that no man shall be constrainyd againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them have suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede up cattel, and provide and make ready woode, whyche they carrie to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste convenyently. They brynge up a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a mervaylouse polycye. For the hennes dooe not sytte upon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, assone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge up verye fewe horses: nor none, but very fearece ones: and that for none other use or purpose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes. For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and

hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and maintained with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboue it doeth spende: yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partyng the overplus among their borderers. What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stiffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When theyr harvest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send worde to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harvest men is nedfull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The whiche compayne of harvest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harvest woorke.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote

As for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloved, as wherin I lived five whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, untill it come to the ryver of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryvers syde, is sumwhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles above Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beyng increased by other smale rivers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other

two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyonde the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also above the citie the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the river waxeth swete, and runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They have also an other river which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gently and pleasauntly. For it riseth even oute of the same hill that the citie standeth upon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so have joyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be stopped, nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveied downe in cannels of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good service. The citie is compassed aboute with a heigh and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and overgrownen with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river it selfe serveth for a ditch. The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the streeete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streeetes. Everye house hathe two doores,

one into the streeete, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardeins. In them they have vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and diligence herin commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnisshing of their gardens: everye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posterite. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteynynge the historie of M. vii. C. lx. yeares, even from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched over with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one over another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The rooffes be plaine and flat, covered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much used, and somhere also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities. For by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

¶ Of the Magistrates

EVERYE thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Sypograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Every ten Sypograuntes, with al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Sypograuntes, which be in number 200. first be sworne to chuese, him whom they thinke mooste mete and expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those iiiij. whome the people before named unto them. For oute of the iiiij. quarters of the citie there be iiiij. chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election: Whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They chuese the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell house with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be anye controversies amone the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by. They take ever ij. Siphograuntes to them in counsel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is provided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe shal be confirmed and ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to have anye consultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they saye, was made to the entent that the prince and Tranibores might not easilie conspire together to appresse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the state of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they have consulted amone themselves, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to

defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste oversene in the matter. Who at the first ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastelye, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations

HUSBANDRIE is a Science common to them all in generall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partelie in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nigh the citie, brought up as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there. For their garmentes, which throughhoute all the Ilande be of one fashion (savyng that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchaunged, semely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the movynge and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I saye) every familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide craftes everye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part every man is broughte up in his fathers crafte. For moste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll:

onelesse the citie have more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle: but that everye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes. For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they dividynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. juste houres, appointe and assigne onelye sixe of those houres to woorke, before noone, upon the whiche they go streigthe to diner: and after diner, when they have rested two houres, then they worke iii. houres and upon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the evenninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thintent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifteleye upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to have lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as everye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time upon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Diceplaye, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they use ij. games not much unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one nombre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe and discorde that vices have amonge themselfes, and

agayne theire unitye and concorde againste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wieles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resist, and overcome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaved, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. For seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye things hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most comonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and howe ydle a companye is there of preystes, and religiouse men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also theire servauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging rushe bucklers. Joyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe under the coloure of some disease or sickenes. And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye used and frequented. Nowe consyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be used, to serve only for ryotous superfluite, and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were devided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye use of nature requyreh; in so greate plentye of things as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne theire livinges. But yf all these, that be nowe busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyve ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste everye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then ij. of the worke-men themselves doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable

58 The Seconde Booke of Utopia

occupatyon, you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore us with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adjoining to it scaselye 500. persons of al the whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and distcharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughte they be by the lawes exempte and privileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people persuaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have geven a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them prove not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaved, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardes those thinges that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all the buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh everye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause that the unthrifte heire suffereth the houses that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte have upholtene wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stooede one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he settethe nothinge by it. And it beyng neglecte, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeth uppe another in an other place with no lesse coste

and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house upon. And they doo not only finde spedys and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelier rise. Now, syr, in theire apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in lynen cloth onlye whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of the threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places iii. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers coloures, and as manye silke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse sorte x. be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moo? Seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapte or covered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they have no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise theire citizens againste theire willes in unneadefull laboures. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that the

citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodeley service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

¶ *Of theire livinge and mutual conversation together*

BUT nowe wil I declare how the citizens use them selfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what fassion they use in the distribution of every thing. Firste the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children with al the whole male ofspringe continewe still in their owne family and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to thintent the prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it isordeined that no familie which in every citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones have fewer children of the age of xiii. yeares or there about then x. or mo then xvi. for of children under this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the whole citie the stoore increase above the just number, therewith they fil up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of every citie certein citezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaving also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil joyne and dwel with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited, and apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste

juste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstandingyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishynge of the just nombre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse sync the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make up the nombre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conversation of the cytezens amoneg themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familie. The wyfes bee ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theire elders. Every Cytie is devided into foure e quall partes or quarters. In the myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of every familie be brought into certeyne houses. And everye kynde of thing is layde up severall in bernes or store houses. From hence the father of everye familie, or every housholder fetchethe whatsoever he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denied unto him? Seynge there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is sewer never to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyvinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause covetousnes and ravyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amoneg the Utopians can have no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iiiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryver without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of theire bondemen. For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes,

through the use whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentelest affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthy, lothesom, or unclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreover everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, everye one knownen by a severall name. In these halles dwell the Sypograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be apoynted xxx. families, on either side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyve meate accordyng to the number of their halles. But first and chieflie of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without the walles, they have iii. hospitalles, so bigge, so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme iii. litle townes, which were devised of that bignes partly to thintent the sycke, be they never so many in nombre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therefore uneasely, and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to another, myght be layde apart farre from the company of the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geven, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equaly devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the trani-bours, and to ambassadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall houses apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it

willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to take the Payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile service, all slavery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookerie for sethinge and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte upon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne evyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbance of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte severall alone with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathyng clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Every mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wives of the Siphograuntes quycckelye provyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themselves to no service so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis, sytte all the children that be under the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of maryage, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. That whiche is geven to them from the table they eate, and other severall dynner tyme they have none. The Siphograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth overwharte the over ende of the hall. To them be joyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at everye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in that Siphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men.

And thus through out all the house equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage gravitie and reverence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. Forasmuch as nothynge can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knownen) be first served of their meate, and then the residue equally. The old men devide their deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and nevertheless equall commoditie commeth to every one. They begin everye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing that perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shal be greved therwith. Hereof thelders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purposelye provoke them to talke, to thentent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and utter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, and sprinckle aboute swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the compayne. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, wherof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live togetheris in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neigbouroues, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyve by.

¶ Of their journeyng or travayling abrode, with diuers other matters
cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed

But if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furthe together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They have a wageyn geven them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they have women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And though they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their jorney they lack nothing. For whersoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharplye punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrei soever he commeth he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shal be no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it. Now you se how little liberte they have to lofter: howe they can have no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assemblies. But they be in the presente sighte, and under the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being used amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie have store

and plentie of all things. And seyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knownen of what thinges there is in every place plentie, and againe what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom the thinges is given, but those cities that have geven of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gave nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or houshalde. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, until they have provided for two yeres folowinge, because of the uncertentie of the next yeares proffe) then of those thinges, wherof they have abundance, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyvinge beastes. And the seventh parte of all these thynges they geve franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they have more aboundinge of these thinges, then anye man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste to be payed at a daye, and to have the mooste parte in debtes. But in so doyng they never followe the credence of privat men: but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writings made in that behalfe accordyngly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they never aske. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they have warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all

the treasure, whiche they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame jeopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chieflie to hiere therewith, and that for unreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in jeopardie, then theyr owne countreymen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselves many times may be boughte or solde, or elles through treason be sette togetheres by the eares amonge themselves. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, and use it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleved. And this I have more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlie sene it with mine owne eyes. For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thynge is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges will not greatlye marveill perchaunce, seyng all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themselves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shall never come to passe. In the meane time golde and sylver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is under Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyve then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and silver nature hath geven no use, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovyng mother, hathe placed the beste and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolishie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stufte: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it: and melte it againe,

therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they have founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very farre discrepant and repugnaunt: and therfore uncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlie made, and yet be of very small value: of golde and sylver they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vesselles, that serve for moste vile uses, not onely in their common halles, but in every mans private house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fettters, and gieves wherin they tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: upon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to have golde and silver among them in reproche and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as grevously and sorrowfullye forgo, as in a manner their owne lives: if they should altogetheres at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the seaside, and Diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: even as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe divers fantasies also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I never so playnelie perceave, as in the Ambassadoures of the Anemolians.

These Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of everie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis,

whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araye. But the Anemolianes because they dwell farre thence, and had very little aquaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled alike, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to have the things whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie poore Utopians. So there came in iii. Ambassadours with c. seruautes all apparelled in chaungeable colours: the moste of them in silkes: the Ambassadours themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold upon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde have done a man good at his harte to have sene howe proudeleye they displayede theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and advaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaved, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should have bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, all that gorgeouesnes of apparrel seemed shamefull and reprochful. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lordes: passing over the Ambassadours themselves without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde have sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking upon the Ambassadours cappes, digge and pushe theire mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were

peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace, sone, saithe she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theire golden cheines, as to no use nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteemed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieves of one fugitive bondman, then all the costelye ornaments of them iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof theye were so proud. And specyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions. For they marveyle that any men be so folyshe, as to have delite and pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in never so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marveile also that golde, whynch of the owne nature is a thinge so unprofytalbe, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the use of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpysh blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of nougtynes as of follye, shall have nevertheles manye wyse and good men in subjectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautеле of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geven to the moste vile slave and abject dryvell of all his housholde, then shortlye after he shal goo into the service of his servaunt, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost divine honoures, for none other consideration, but bicause they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny

fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them. These and such like opinions have they conceaved, partly by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, and partly by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in every citie, which be exempte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from theire very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyve tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure. The mooste parte of all that syde of the worlde useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, and accordinge to the dyversytye of the countreys it is dyverslye alterede. Of all these Philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knownen, before oure cummyng thether not as muche as the fame of annye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they have founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe Logiciens in subtyl inventions have farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they have not devysed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye invented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in every place do learne. Furtheremore they were never yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde ever see man himselfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than ever was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of us even wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the movynges of the heavenly spheres verye expert and cunnyng. They have also wittelye excogitated and divised instrumentes of divers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the movynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and dissentions of the

planettes, and all that deceytfel divination by the starres, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heaven and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselves, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowementes and giftes of the soule. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geven and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntyne and delicate an opinion, they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joine unto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the investigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfekte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal, and by the bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our evel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleved and graunted by profes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endevoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye avoydynge this inconvenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they judge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and painful vertue, and not only to bannishe the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer

griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall have no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that hereto as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawnen even of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefely and principallye kenable in men the love and veneration of the devine majestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilite to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe stirrethe and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, and also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteine and enjoye the same. For there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, and relieve, to your powre, the lack and misery of others, praysing the same as a dede of humanitie and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and conforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarilye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and hevynes of lyfe, to restore them to joye, that is to saye, to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth provoke everye man to doo the same to himselfe? For a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either evel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurtful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to the selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew as much favoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and ungentle to the selfe. Therefor even very nature (saye they) prescribeth to us a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and provoke men one to healpe another to lyve merily (which suerly she doth

not without a good cause: for no man is so farre above the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye favourethe all, that be comprehended under the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only covenantes and bargaynes made amonge private men ought to be well and faythefullie fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but also commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath justly publyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaved by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanite and gentilnes: whiche never taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could have brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleasure they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasaunt, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche

pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieve and sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and sovereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleasure they put them that I speake of before. Whiche the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke them selfes. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. For they be no lesse deceaved in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thought better, than the wul of a course sponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, avaunce themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not have loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdainfullye. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a prude in vayne and unprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, rejoysse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselves have pyssed it agaynst the walles, yet they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselves almoste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce styl in all countreis

and at all times. Nor they bye them not, 'but taken out of the golde and bare: no nor so neither, untyll they have made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take even as muche pleasure in beholdinge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, even as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaved with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takyng it bothe frome their owne use, and perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, and thou ignorant of the thefte shouldest dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye both wayes like profitte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they joyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearsay, and not by use. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (saye they) in castinge the dice upon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pitie to see a selye innocent hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the feare, the innocent of the cruel and unmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyse of huntyng, as a thynge unworthye to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their bouchers, to the whiche crafte (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte hunt-

ynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Whereas the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affinitie with trew and right pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense with delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothynge diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynge for swete thynge. Even as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes judgemente depraved and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make divers kindes of trew pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaved, whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, which oure naturall heate drieth up. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynge be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the body over great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doying the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eased with rubbyng or scratchynge. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it desireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which nevertheless tikleth and moveth oure senses with a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifeste motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and upryghte state of the bodye. And that

treweleye is everye mannes owne propre health entermingled and disturbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, thoughe it be moved with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkyng, yet neverthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right soveraigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not havinge health, that they call unsensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaved and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a mooste soveraigne pleasure. For seyng that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure, even as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is grieve, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, saye they, feleth not himselfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleping

sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind. For them they counte the chieflist and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healtches sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resistre sicknesse privelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight carefull grieves, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieve. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shal be in most felicitie, if he live that life, which is led in continual hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and unhonest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceveth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie grieves. As with the pleasure of eating is joyned hunger, and that after no very egal sort. For of these ii. the grieve is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in that thei be necessari. Howbeit they have delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie grefes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions and sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other livinge creature doth behold the fairenes and

the bewtie of the worlde, or is moved with any respecte of savours, but onely for the diversitie of meates, neither perceaveth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleaunte rejoysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they use, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healthe, and to rejecte the pleaunte motions of nature; onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at Goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversitie: whiche perchaunce shall never come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himselfe, and unkind towardes nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleve that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heven. Wherin whether they beleve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we have taken upon us to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleve verelye: howe soever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neyther a more flourishyng commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of activitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man woulde judge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughte theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente travaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subject or apte to fewer diseases. There therfore a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onelye those thinges whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of

the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked up by the rootes in one place, and set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is lesse laboure and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it; but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be never wery. When they had herd me speak of the greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute unto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more because I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marvailed at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes, and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, undertooke to learne this langage. Therefor in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoutte anie staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation toke their beginninge of the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much unlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyvers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes and of theire magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my iiiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather never, than shortly) they have, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in divers places (which I am sorye for) unperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced upon the booke, as it was negli-

gentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in pieces. Of them that have wrytten the grammer, they have onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor never a dictionayre but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoore by Plutarches booke. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and jestes. Of the poetes they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynce. Of the historians they have Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechnie. The whyche boke they have in greate estimation. For thoughte there be almost no nation under heaven that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste and most profytayle partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselves to receave therby not onelye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and favour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke, according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwil and love to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and marvelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exercised in learnynge, be marveilous quycke in the invention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the advantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit ii. feates theye maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye us but chiefelye and principallye themselves.

For when we shewede to them Aldus his print in booke of paper, and told them of the stiffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely

in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And though at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copies of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, savinge that by pryntryng of bookes they have multiplyed and increased the same into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoever cummeth thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or througe muche and longe journienge wel experiensed and sene in the knowledg of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyve and interteyne wonders gentilly and lovinglye. For they have delite to heare what is done in everye lande, howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and silver, whiche they hadde rather carrie home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere furthe themselves, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it, to thentente they maye the better knowe the out landes on everye syde of them, and kepe in ure the feate and knowledge of sailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and divers other matters

THEY neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of anye suche as they canne gette out of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either suche as amonge themselves for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche as in the Cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of bondemen they have mooste stoore.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettyng them for gramercye. These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their oun men they handle hardest, whom they Judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punisshemente, bycause they being so godlye broughte up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge being

a poore laborer in an other country doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreat and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, savyng that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldom is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they conforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte, with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguishe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by overlyvinge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and grevous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not bee unwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a rache of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the prystes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of gooddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynst his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him, belevinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the prystes and the counsel have allowed the cause of his deathe, him as unworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed, they caste unburied into some stinkinge marrish. The woman is not maried before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man is iiiij. yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proved to have actuallly offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partie that so hathe trespassed is sharpeleye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden ever after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulfe be forgeven by the princes pardone.

But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed, as beinge slacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamy. That offense is so sharply punyshed, bicause they perceave, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll joyne together in the love of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the grieves and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne.

Farthermore in chuesinge wifes and husbandes they observe earnestly and straytelye a custome, whiche seemed to us very fonde and folyshe. For a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolishe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circum-specte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste under those coverynges be hydde som galle or soore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasure or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge covered with cloothes, they esteme her scaselye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face), and so to joyne her to them not without greate jeoperdye of evel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce to offend and myslyke them. For all men be not so wyse, as to have respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea even in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde under those coveringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be saperate agayne. If such deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made whereby all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and advoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke upon, because they onlye of the nations in that part of the worlde bee contente everye man with one wyfe a piece. And matry-

moneie is there never broken, but by death; excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greved, they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlocke. Howebeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they judge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken, and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should unkindly and unfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselves, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyve more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be divorced asonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeeth to no divorses, before they and their wyfes have diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have sufferedde wrong, beinge divorced from the avoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in love towarde so unkinde a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partie faulteles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so move the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde person from servitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones in that faulte there is no other waye but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punishmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes, and the parentes theire children, oneles they have done anye so horrable an offense, that the open punyshemente thereof maketh muche for the advauncemente of honeste maners. But moste com-

menlye the moste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse grieve, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe under. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. For after they have bene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for theire offense then for their punyshemente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyve, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeven. He that moveth to advoutreye is in no lesse daunger and jeoperdie then yf he hadde committed advoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente and pretensed purpose as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him that did his beste to have no lette. They have singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition; for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should bryng no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye proffite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which unwysely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye litell witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comelinessse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe, even by verye experience, that no comelinessse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and avaunce the wifes in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as love is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept,

preserved, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng evil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes: and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and provoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knownen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onelye he is knownen. They have but few lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well understande them. Furthermore they utterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeautes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that every man should pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the judge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shal soner come to light, whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doethe waye the woordes of him whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children. This is harde to be observed in other countreis, in so infinite a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they have very few lawes; and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation is, that they allowe as most juste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente that by them every man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtil interpretation

tion of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to everye man. Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and have moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation upon it, that without greate witte and longe arguyng no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their livynges canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians have caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche live fre and under no subjection (for the Utopians longe ago, have delivered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for five yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations have undoubtedely very well and holsomely provided for their common wealthes. For seyng that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique doeth depende and hange upon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye have chosen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved eyther with favoure, or malice towarde any man, as beyng straungers, and un aquainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgementes, incontinentē they breake justice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they have bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be so ofte concluded, broken and renewed, they never make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they. As thoughe nature had not set sufficient love betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very sklenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the majestie

of leagues is everye where esteemed holy and inviolable: partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves, but they do verye religiouselye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochfull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should have no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaselie so farre frome us beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte up with, the soner it is broken by some cavillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in and placed, that the bandes can never be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth and a sower countenaunce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea even very they that avaunce themselves authours of lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al justice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which availeth it selfe farre under the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge afote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes bycause it shall not run at rovers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie, then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so evell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be never so faithfullye observed and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very evell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat asondre, by the space of a little hil or a river, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselves borne adver-

saries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth not grow and encrese: but the licence of robbing and stealing doth styl remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no injurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit togetheres by love and benevolence, then by covauntes of leagues; by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare

WARRE or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche use as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothynge so much against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women upon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they never go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to drive out of their frendes lande the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yocke and bondage of tiranny some people, that be therewith oppresed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes; not ever in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praines and booties be driven awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge understandinge of good lawes, do sustaine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes

against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogeþ marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puisaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste florishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogeþ. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogeþ before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequute the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coveyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not forbicause they set lesse stoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Because that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased; but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They rejoysen and avaunt themselves, if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place

where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they have plaied the men in deede, when they have so overcommen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the mighte and puissaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulfe, that ever after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequete, and set forwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte in avoidinge and eschewynge jeopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set up privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promisse greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the same to them alive; yea, and to the proclaimed persones themselves, if they wil chaunge their mindes and come in to them, taking their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes with pardone, and suertie of their lives. Therefore it quickely commeth to passe that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardie. For it is well knownen, that divers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men unto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembryng and considering into how great hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, endevoure themselves to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only

wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but also landes of greate revenues lieng in most saffe places among theire frendes. And theire promises they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or covyne. This custome of byinge and sellynge adversaries among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of ptyte and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greate nombre of innocentes, as wel of theire oun men as also of theire enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane. For they doo no lesse ptyte the basse and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne; knowing that they be driven and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde as they woulde have it, then they procure occasyons of debate, and dissencion to be spredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye prevayle not, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neyghboures and borderers to theire enemys, and them they sette in theire neckes under the coloure of some olde tytle of rgyhte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince. But their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye pennye. Yea and besydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes. This people is 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, savage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought up. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their

houses and in their apparel, geven unto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge up of cattel. The moste parte of theire lyvinge is by huntyng and stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and whosoever lackethe souldyours, there they proffer theire service for small wages. This is onelye the crafte they have to gette theire livynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe by sekinge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fighthe hardelye, fyerslye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme. But upon this condition they entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other syde for greater wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherin is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynsefolke whyche were hieri together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye used themselves one wyth another, shortlye after beinge separate in contrarye partes, runne one againste another envyouslye and fyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshype, thruste theire swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be provoked to chaunge partes for a halfe penye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they have taken a smacke in covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fightryng, immedatelye they spende unthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynst all nations, bycause they geve them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to use wel, so they seke these evell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them never cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in like daunger another time. Nor the Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleve that they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the worlde all that fowle

stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto thies they use the soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to theire oune citizens. Emong whome they give to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goovernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Under him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is unceraine and doubtful) the jeopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde bryng the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese soldyours out of every citye those, whych putte furthe themselfes willyngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shypes amone other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them upon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessitee turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre againste his wyll, so women that be willyng to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo stande everye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also every man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wiffe withoute her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battell come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitee of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hieri soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight

themselves, then they do as corragiouslye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye avoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stuppe and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche. For that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover theire knowledge in chevalrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought up even from theire childhode, partly through learnynge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique, augmente and encrease theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond love therewith, that they will shamefullye covete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leave them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and fervent, a bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to live and dye togethers, take upon them to destroye theire adversaries capitaine. Whome they invade, now with privy wieles, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men stylly commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he save hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner and yelded to his enemies alive. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of theire enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of theire hoste in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum saving the rerewarde, and that they therewith atchieve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselves more then ones; the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoysing in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small compayne of theire

men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainelye rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase: and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceave themselfes either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceave theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse jeoperdie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they presse on. They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaves aworke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh upon it, except them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for sodeine aventures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in less tyme then anye man woulde beleve. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe, whyche they shote both stronglye and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they use not swordes but poll-axes, whiche be mortall, as wel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they devyse and invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knownen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in makynge them, hereunto they have chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moved, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto provoked. They doe not waste

nor destroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not up their corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may be from being overrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne use and proffit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded unto them they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldynge up of the same, they put to deathe, the other souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give frelye amonge them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put theire frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like use of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde unto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they have now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above viij. hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere. Thether they sende forth some of their citezeins as lieuetenautes, to live there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saved, which commeth to the commen treasury: onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the countrey with the money. Which many times they do so long, until they have nede to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth that thei demaund al. Of these landes they assigne parte unto them, which at their request and exhortacion, put themselves in such jeoperdies, as I speake of before. If anye prince stirre up warre agaynst them, intending to invade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they never lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be never broughte into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia

THERE be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that give worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wysest parte (rejectynge al these) beleve that there is a certayne Godlie powre unknownen, everlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geve any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea al the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togetheris with the wisest sorte, in beleiving that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that amonge some he is counted one, and amonge some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine mighte and majestie, the summe and soveraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geven. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agre togetheris in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long ago have bene abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thynge happened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnessse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heaven. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge woulde revenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes, they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they

thought it nieghest unto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verely howsoever it came to passe, manye of them consented together in our religion, and were wasshed in the holy water of baptism. But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left alive, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they understand and perceive them, and be very desierous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receave the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soone as he was baptised, began against our willes, with more earneste affection, then wisedome, to reason of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and develish, and the children of everlastinge damnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person and a raiser up of dissention amone the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amone them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall dissention and strife amone themselves for their religions: perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte tooke several partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest over them al, as sone as he had gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did

it peaceable, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlye in this cause strive and contendre was decreed banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decrie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedlie, as douting whether god desiering manifolde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same, that thou belevest to be trew. Furthermore thoghe there be one religion whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, and in their evyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaved that then the beste and holiest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrownen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed, and gave to everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Savinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man should conceave so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye; or that the world runneth at al aventures governed by no divine providence. And therfore thei beleve that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifullly rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe avaled the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their citiziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme. For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft prively to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes,

nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices and reiecte from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte unto fraude, they do meravelouslie deteste and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of gravitie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geve place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleve that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and everlasting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predestinate to like felicitie. For al they beleve certeinly and sewerly that mans blesse shal be so great, that they do mourne and lament every mans sicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie, and agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye evel token, as though the soule beyng in dispaire and vexed in conscience, through some privie and secret forefeiling of the punishment now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe do abhorre it, and them that so die they burie with sorow and silence. And when they have praied God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they cover the dead coarse with earth. Contrariewise all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse with joyfull synging, commanding the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or

gladly talked of as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible. For it were an unconvenient thinge that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate unkindnes in them to have utterly cast awaye the desire of visitinge and seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleve therefore that the deade be presentlye conversaunt amoung the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more corragiously to their busines as having a trust and affiaunce in such overseers. And this same belefe of the present conversation of their forefathers and auncetours among them feareth them from all secrete dishonestie. They utterly despise and mocke soth-sayinges and divinations of things to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate observation. But they highlye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there vetye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydernes they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende upon the sick, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, and stones, fel and cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serve not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so ever unpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take upon them willingly and

gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in theire owne. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chast, abstaininge not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set upon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchyng, and sweatynge, hoopinge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisyng the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke. The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which woord by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion or religious men. They have priestes of exceeding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xij. in every citie accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. For than vij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre, untill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices for the avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dis-

solute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters. And there is almoste no punishment amone them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicke repentaunce approve the amendment of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they use with verie great endevour and diligence to put into the heade of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the state of the commen welth. Whiche never decaieth but throughe vices risinge of evill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and pre-eminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen judgement, but be left only to god and themselves. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye observe, bicause they have so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. For it scasely ever chaunceth that the moste vertuous among vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is avaunced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the commen wealthe. They have so rare and fewe priestes, least if the honour were communicated to many, the digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should rune in contempt. Speciallye

because they thincke it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore these priestes be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beside not farre of knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heaven: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle and restrayne their owne men from sleying and cruelly pursuinge theire vanquished enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is yonughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hath avaunced them to so greate wourship and trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved theire own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knownen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemis fyerslye pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene have stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reverence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and unreverentlye touched. They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of every moneth and yeare, divydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Lynerernes and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primi-feste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that

over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion: which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, though they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye several secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for every man to conceive god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra. In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesti whatsoever it be. No prayers bee used but suche as everye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the churche the laste day of everye moneth and yeare, in the evenyng yet fastinge, there to gyve thankes to GOD for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye have good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wives fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowledinge themselves offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblowne, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeance and punyshemente for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre,

that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of the house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forseen that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge joyned together, they should passe over that time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceive a religious and devoute feare towrdes god, which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertu. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geven liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensence and other sweet savours, and light also a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing avaylable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet savoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselves secretlye lifted up, and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stiffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embrauderid with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with divers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stiffe is hable to counter-vaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observed in theire setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine divine misteries. The interpretation wherof knownen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them; and of the love and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God; and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geveth them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayses unto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this

parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde us. For all their musike bothe that they playe upon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expreslye pronounced, so made that everye man maye privatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers everye man recognisethe and knowlegethe God to be hys maker, hys governoure and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaved at his hande. But namelye that throughe the favoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthy, and hathe chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too bryngre all other people to the same ordre of lyvynge, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversite of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not assygne or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperite to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal dounre to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse up and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye.

Nowe I have declared and described unto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my judgment is not only the beste, but also

that which alone of good right maye claime and take upon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here where nothinge is private, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked upon. And truely on both partes they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for honger, onles he make some severall provision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe never so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled even of verye necessitie to have regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his private uses: so that the commen store houses and bernes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al grieve and pensifenes: not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyvynge and wealthe of themselves and al theirs, of theire wifes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet besydes this there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. For what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe, or an usurer, or to bee shorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by Idlenes, or by unnecessarye busines: when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beastes be skant hable to susteine, and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched

and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye seme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall laboure, nor theire lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented with barreyne and unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an unjust and an unkynde publyque weale, whyche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and devysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and syckenes, being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettynge their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembraunce their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste unkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by private fraud but also by commen lawes do every day pluck and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So whereas it semed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geven the name of justice, yea and that by force of a lawe. Therfore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and laboure of the poore for as little money as may be. These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept and observed under coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most

wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiable covetousnes devided among them selves al those thinges, whiche woulde have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked up by the rotes! For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, ravine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, grieve, care, laboures and watchinges do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea poverty it selfe, which only seemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceave this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruteful yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people have starved for honger: I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might have bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being divided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should have felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye princesse lady money did not alone stop up the waye betwene us and our lyving, which a goddes name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceave this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with overmuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of every mans private commoditie, or els the authority of oure savioure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold have brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not that one only beast, the princesse and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches

left, over whom she might, like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye set-tyng furthe her riches. Thys hellhounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations, I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely, but also, as far as mans wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked up by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domisticall dissention, whiche alone hathe caste under foote and brought to noughte the well fortrefied and stronglie defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communite of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamente and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrownen and destroied: yet because I knew that he was wary of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they should seeme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inventions: therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him in to supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with

him moore at large therin. Whiche wolde God it might ones come to passe. In the mean time, as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced, so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ THUS ENDETH THE AFTERNOONES TALKE OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE CONCERNING THE LAWES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ILANDE OF UTOPIA.

¶ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HIEROME BUSLYDE
PROVOST OF ARIENN, AND COUNSELLOURE TO THE
CATHOLIKE KINGE CHARLES,
PETER GYLES, CITIZEIN OF ANTWERPE, WISHETH
HEALTH AND FELICITIE

THOMAS MORE the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knownen, sent unto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knownen, but most worthy. Which as farre exceling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke as well as master More) utteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not thinges which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea even the very famous and renoumed travailer Ulysses; and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to have sene nothing. Moreover, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discribe and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores pensille, I am therwith so moved, so delited,

so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conversaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleve that Raphael himselfe by al that five yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so much, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceaved. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is replenished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse or marveile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could wel niegh worde by woerde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittly marked and bare away al the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly most unknownen) wherof both yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion and utter decaye of a commen wealth, and also the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may riese and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique, and private, as he is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writinges: Onely a meter of iiiij. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that have I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and have also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke wherof not a little troubleth and greveth master More, in dede Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it over, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserve that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen evell and unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores servauntes came to him and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippelorde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil

never stynte, nor rest, until I have gotte the full and exakte knowledge hereof: insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the just latitude therof, that is to say, in the subelevation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and alive. For we heare very uncertain newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his journey homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolved. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they never had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were unknownen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie. Howbeit unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, and under the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knownen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and avaunce the commen wealth, wherin you have many
 yeares already continued and travailed with great
 glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome
 and knowledge, and also of integritie
 and uprightnes. Thus, O liberall sup-
 porter of good learninge, and floure
 of this oure time, I byd you
 moste hartely well to fare.
 At Antwerpe 1516,
 the first daye of
 November.

A METER OF IIII. VERSES IN THE UTOPIAN TONGUE,

*Briefely touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the
happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe*

*Vtopos ha Boccas peu la chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi baccan soma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.*

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordaninge to his simple
knowledge, and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue,
hath thus rudely englised.

My kinge and conquerour Utopus by name,
A prince of much renowme and immortall fame,
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
Ful fraught with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Have shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receave I am readie with al my harte.

¶ *A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate,
and nephewe to Hythlodaye by his sister*

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herborough,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde through.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same have I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fytely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: a place of felicitie.

¶ *Gerarde Noviomage of Utopia*

DOETH pleasure please? then place the here, and well the rest,
 Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
 Doeth profit ease? then here arrive, this yle is best.
 For passinge profettes do here appeare.
 Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both gaine and
 pleasure?

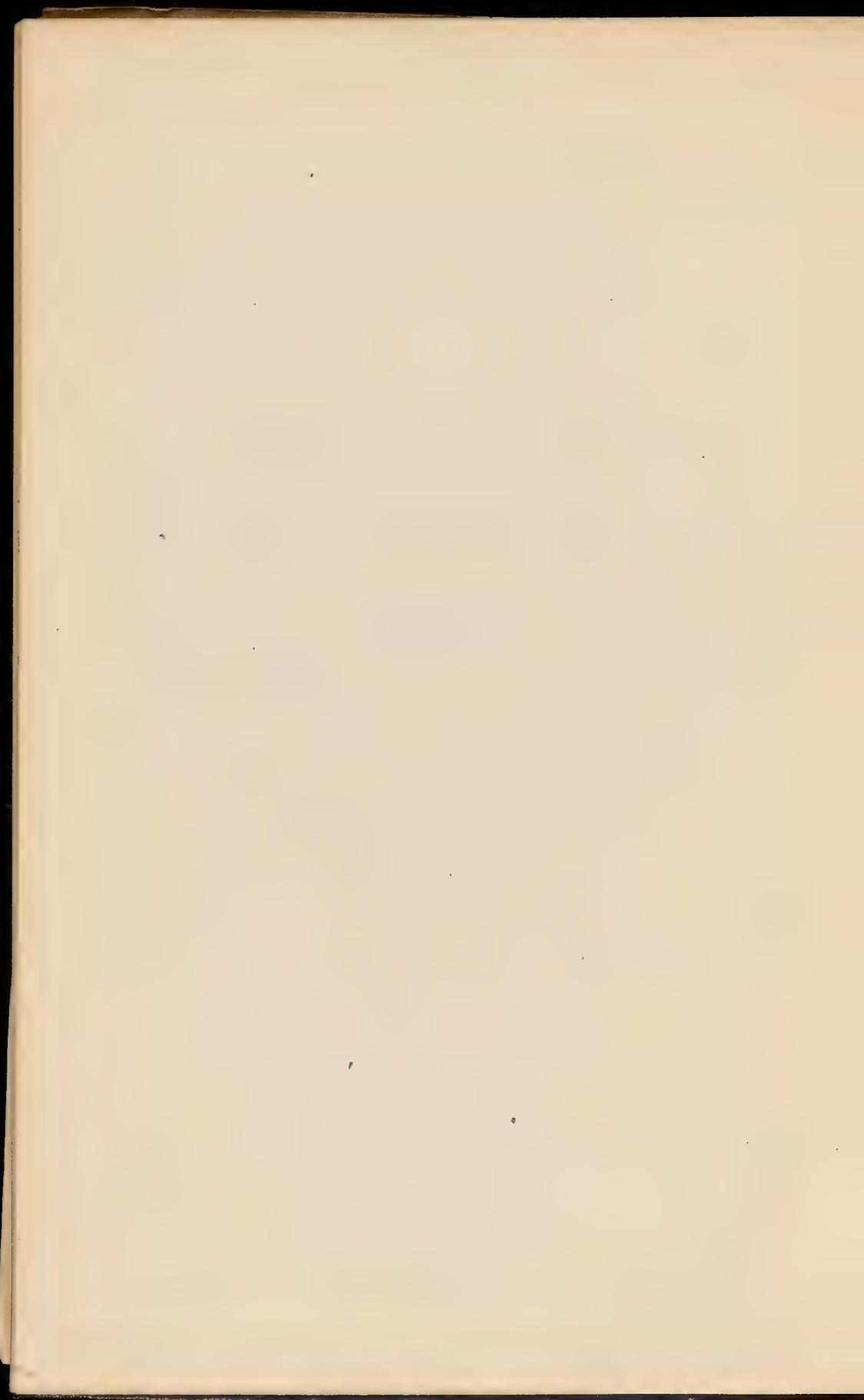
This yle is fraught with both bounteously.
 To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
 Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
 The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and virtue
 Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
 Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
 Geve to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ *Cornelius Graphey to the Reader*

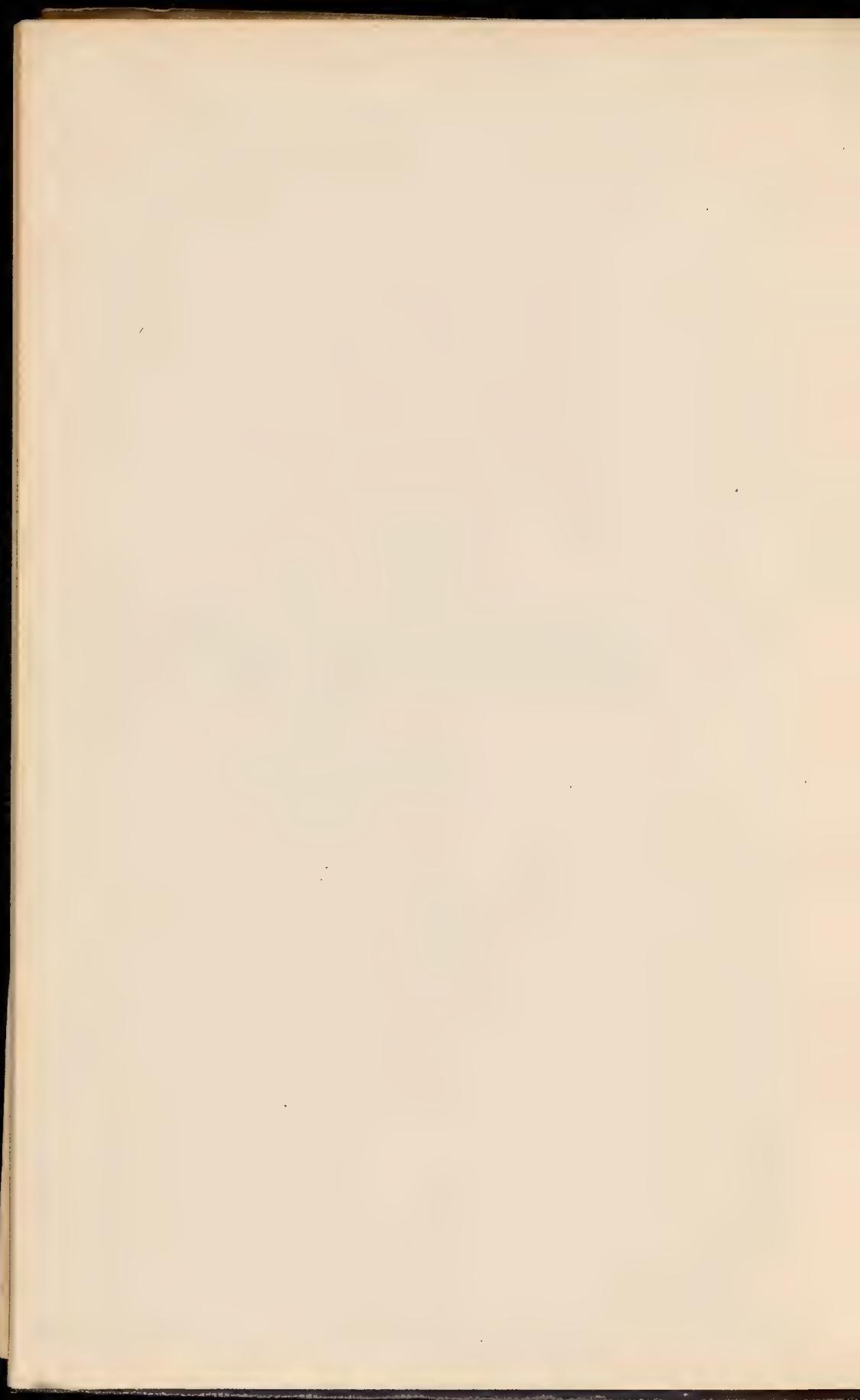
WILT thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the lande that
 late was founde?
 Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by divers ways that godly be?
 Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, understande the very grounde?
 Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of vanitie?
 Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as
 thou maie best.
 All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir
 Thomas More,
 With witte divine ful learnedly, unto the worlde hath plaine
 exprest,
 In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly
 lore.

¶ THE PRINTER TO THE READER

THE Utopian alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the above written Epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoyned, because I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marveill, seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian, etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perfourme that whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye, to exhibite perfectly unto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.



A DYALOGUE OF COMFORTE
AGAYNSTE TRIBULACYON



¶ A DYALOGUE OF COMFORTE

AGAYNSTE TRIBULACYON MADE IN THE YERE OF
OUR LORDE, 1534, BY SYR THOMAS MORE
KNYGHTE, WHILE HE WAS PRYSONER
IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, WHICHE
HE ENTITLED THUS AS
FOLOWETH:

¶ A DYALOGUE OF COUMFORT AGAYNST TRIBULACION,

MADE BY AN HUNGARIEN IN LATEN, AND TRANS-
LATED OUTE OF LATEN INTO FRENCH, AND
OUTE OF FRENCH INTO ENGLISHE

¶ *Anthony, and Vincent*

Vyncent. Who wold haue went, Oh my good vncle, afore a
fewe yeres passed, that such as in this countrey would visit their
frendes lying in disease and sicknes, sholde come (as I dooe nowe)
to seke and fetche coumfort of them, or in geuing coumfort to
them, vse the way that I may well vse to you? For al be it
that the priestes and fryers be woonte to calle vpon sick
menne to remembre death: yet we worldely frendes for feare of
dyscoumfortyng them, haue euer hadde a guyse in Hungary to
lifte vppe their heartes, and put them in good hope of life. But
nowe my good vncle, the worlde is here waxen suche, and so
greate perilles appeare here to fall at hande, that me thynketh
the greateste comfort that a manne can haue is, whēn he may
see that he shal soone be gone, and we that are lykelye long to
liue here in wretchednesse, haue nede of some coumfortable
counsayle against tribulacion, to be geuen us by suche as you be
(good vncle, that haue so long liued vertously) and are so
learned in the lawe of god, as very fewe be better in this

countreye here, and haue hadde of suche thynges as wee dooe nowe feare, good experience and assaye in youre selfe, as he that hath been taken priesoner in Turkey two tymes in your dayes, and now likly to departe hence ere long. But that maye be your great coumfort good vnkle, sith you depart to god: but vs here shal you leauue of your kinred, a sorte of sory coumfortlesse Orphanes, to all whom, your good helpe, coumfort, and counsell, hath long been a great staye, not as an vnkle vnto some, and to some as one farther of kinne, but as though that vnto vs all, you had been a naturall father. ¶ *Anthony.* Myne own good cosin, I cannot much say nay, but that there is in dede, not here in Hūgarye onely, but almoste also in all places of christendome, suche a customable maner of vnchristen comforting, which albeit that in any sicke manne it dooeth more harme then good, with drawynge him in time of sickenesse, with lookynge and longyng for life fro the meditacion of death, iudgemente, heauen and hell, whereof he should besette much parte of his time, euen all his whole lyfe in hys best helth: yet is that maner in my mind more then madde, where suche kynde of coumfort is vsed to a man of myne age. For as we well wot, that a young man may dye soone: so be we very sure that an olde man cannot liue long. And yet sith there is (as Tully sayth) no man for all that so olde, but that he hopeth yet that he may liue one yere more: and of a frail folye deliteth to thinke theron and comforting himself therwith, other mennes woordes of like maner coumfort, adding moe stickes to that fyre, shall in a maner burne vp quite the pleasaunte moysture that most should refresh him: the wholesome dewe I meane of goddes grace, by which he should wish with Goddes wil to be hence, and long to be with hym in heauen. Nowe where you take my departynge from you so heauelye, as of hym of whome you recognyse of youre goodnesse to haue hadde here before helpe and coumforte, woulde God I hadde to you and to other moe done half so much, as my self rekoneth hadde been my duetie to dooe. But whensoeuer God take me hence, to reckon youre selues than coumfortlesse, as thoughe youre chiefe coumforte stode in me: therbyn make you (me thinketh) a reckning very much like, as though you woulde cast awaye a strong staffe, and leane vpon a rotten reede. For GOD is and must be your coumforte, and not I. And he is a sure coumforter, that (as he sayde vnto hys Disciples) neuer leaueth his seruauntes in case of coumfortlesse Orphanes: not euen when he departed from his Disciples by death, but bothe as he promised, sent them a coumforter, the

holye spirite of hys father and hymselfe, and made them also sure, that to the worldes ende he woulde euer dwelle with them hymselfe. And therfore if you be part of hys flocke, and belieue hys promyse, howe can you be coumfortlesse in anye tribulacyon, when Chryst and hys holye spirite, and with them theyr vnseparabla father, (if you putte full truste and confidence in them), bee neuer neyther one finger breadth of space, nor one minute of time from you?

¶ *Vyncent.* Oh my good vncle, euen these same selfe woordes wherewith you well prooue that because of Goddes owne gracious presence, wee can not be lefte coumfortlesse, make me nowe feele and perceiue what a mysse of muche coumforte wee shall haue when you be gone: for all be it (good vncle,) that whyle you dooe tell me thys, I cannot but graunte it for trewe: Yet if I nowe hadde not hearde it of you, I hadde not remembred it, nor it hadde not fallen in my mynde. And ouer that, lyke as oure tribulacyons, shall in weyghte and noumber encrease: so shall wee nede, not onelye one suche good woorde or twayne: but a gret heape thereof, to stable and strength the walles of our heartes agaynst the gret sourges of this tempesteous sea.

¶ *Anthony.* Good Cosyn, truste well in God and he shall prouide you teachers abroade conuenient in euerye tyme, or elles shall hymselfe sufficielye teache you within.

¶ *Vyncent.* Very well good vncle: but yet if we woulde leaue the seekyng of outewarde learnynge, where we maye haue it, and looke to bee inwardelye taughte, onelye by GOD, then shoule wee thereby tempte GOD, and dysplease him: and syth that I nowe see the lykelihodde, that when you be gone we shal be sore destitute of anye suche other like: therefore thynketh me that GOD of duetie byndeth me to sewe to you nowe (good vncle) in thys shorte tyme that we haue you, that it may lyke you, against these great stormes of tribulacion, with whiche, bothe I and all myne are sore beaten alreadye, and nowe vpon the cummyng of thys cruell Turke feare to falle in farre moe, I maye learne of you suche plentie of good counsell and coumforte, that I maye, with the same layde vppe in remembraunce, gourne and staye the shyppe of oure kynredde, and keepe it a flote from perylle of sprituall drowenynge. You bee not ignoraunt (good vncle,) what heapes of heauynesse, hathe of late fallen amonge vs alreadye, with whiche some of our poore familye bee fallen into suche dumpes, that scantelye can anye suche coumfort as my poore witte can geue them, anye thyng asswage theyr sorowe. And now sith these tydinges haue

comen hether so brymme of the greate Turkes enterpryse to these partes here: we can almoste neyther talke nor think of anye other thynge elles, then of hys myghte and oure mischie. There falleth so continually before the eyen of our hearte, a feefull ymagination of thys terrible thynge, his mightye strenght and power, his hygh malice and hatred, and his incomparble crueltie, with robbynge, spoyleyng, burnyng, and laying wste all the waye that hys armye cummeth: then killing or caring awaye the people farre thence from home, and there seuerthe couples and the kynred a sunder, euerye one farre from oter: some kepte in thraldome, and some kepte in prieson, and sme for a tryumphē tormented and killed in his presence. Then sende hys people hither, and hys false faythe therewyth, sohat suchē as are here and remayn still, shall eyther both leese alānd be loste too, or forced to forsake the faythe of our Saïour Chryst, and fall to the false sect of Mahometē. And yet, wlche wee more feare then all the remenaunte, no small parte o our own folke that dwelle euen here aboue vs, are (as wee fare) fallynge to hym, or alreadye confedered with hym: whicheyf it so be, shall happily kepe his quarter from the Turkes incuryon: but then shall they that tourne to hys lawe, leaue all thyr nighbours nothing, but shall haue oure good geuen them, and oure bodyes bothe: but if we tourne as they dooe, and forsak our Saïour too, and then (for there is no borne Turke so cruell to christen folke, as is ye false christen that falleth from the fyth) we shall stand in peril (if we perseuer in ye trueth) to bemoore hardelye handeled, and dye more cruell death by oure own countrey men at home, then if we wer taken hēnce and carid into Turkye. These feareful heapes of perill lye so heauy at our heartes, while we wotte not into whiche we shall fortune to fall, and thefore feare al the worst, that as our sauiour prophecie of the people of Jerusalēm, many wishe among vs alredy before the peril come, that the mountaines wold ouerwhelme them, or the valeyes open, and swalowe them vp and couer them. Thereforē good vnkle, agaynst these horrible feares of these terryble tribulacions, of whiche some ye wot wel, our house alredy hath, and the remnant stand in drede of, geue vs whyle god lendeth you vs, such plenty of your comfertable counsayle, as I may write and kepe with vs, to staye vs when God shall call you hence. ¶ *Antony.* Ah my good cosin, this is an heauy hearing, and likewise as we that dwel here in this parte, feare that thing sore nowe which fewe yeres passed, feared it not at all: so doubte I that ere it long be, they shall feare it as much that thinke

themself nowe verye sure, because they dwell ferther of. Grece feared not the Turke when that I was borne, and withyn a whyle after, that whole Empyre was his. The great Sowdon of Sirry thought himselfe more then his matche, and long since you were borne, hath he that Empire too. Then hath he taken Belgrade the fortres of this realme, and sync hath he destroyed our noble young goodly king. And nowe striue there twayne for vs, our Lorde send the grace, that the third dog cary not away the bone from them both. What should I speake of the noble strong citie of the Rhodes, ye winning wheroft he counted as a victorye against the whole corps of christendom, sith al christendom was not hable to defende that strong towne agaynst hym: howbeit, if the princes of christendom euerye where aboue, woulde where as nede was, haue sette too their handes in time, the Turke hadde neuer taken any one place of all those places. But partlye dissencions fallen among our self; partly that no manne careth what harme other folke feele, but eche part suffereth other to shyft for it selfe; the Turke is in fewe yeres woonderfully encreased, and christendom on the tother syde very sore decayed: and all this woorketh our wickednesse, with whiche God is not content. But nowe, whereas you desyre of me some plentie of comfertable thynges, which ye may put in remembrance, and comferte therewith your company, verely in the rehersing and heapyng of your manifold feares, my selfe began to feele that there shoulde muche nede agaynst so many troubles, manye comfertable counsayles. For surely a little before your cumming, as I deuised with my selfe vpon the Turkes cumming, it happed my mynde to fall sodaynly from that, into the deuysing vpon my owne departing: wherin, albeit that I fullye putte my truse and hope, to be a sauad soule by the great mercy of God, yet sith no man is here so sure, that without reuelacion may cleane stand out of drede, I bethought me also vpon the Payne of hell. And after I bethought me then vpon the Turke agayne. And firste me thoughte hys terrour nothyng, when I compared with it the ioyfull hope of heuen. Then compared I it on the other syde with the fearefull drede of hell, and therin casting in my mynde those terrible deuelish tormentours with the diepe consideracyon of that furious endlesse fyre: me thought that if the Turke with hys whole hooste, and all trumpettes and his tumbrelles too, wer to kill me in my bedde cumm to my chaumber doore, in respecte of the other reckenyng, I regarde him not a ryshe. And yet when I nowe heard your lamentable woordes, laying furth as it wer present before my

face, that heape of heauy sorowfull tribulacions, that beside those that are alredy fallen, are in short space like to folowe: I waxed therwith my self sodeinly sumwhat a flyghte. And therefore I well allow your request in this behalf, that woulde haue store of coumforte afore hand ready by you to resort too: and to laye vp in your hearte as a triacle agaynst the poyson of all desperate drede, that might ryse of occasion of sore tribulacion. And herein shall I be gladde, as my poore witte will serue me, to call to minde with you such thynges, as I before haue readde, hearde, or thought vpon, that may conueniently serue vs to this purpose.

¶ That the coumfort devised by the olde paynem phylosophers wer unsufficient, and the cause wherefore

¶ THE FIRST CHAPTER

FVRST shall you, good cosin, vnderstande this, that the naturall wyse men of thys world, the old morall Philosophers, labored much in this matter, and manye naturall reasons haue they written, wherby they myght encourage menne to sette little by suche goodes or suche hurtes either, the going or the coming wheroft, are the matter and the cause of tribulacion, as are the goodes of fortune, riches, fauor, frēndes, fame, worldly woorshippe, and suche other thinges: or of the bodye, as beawtie, strength, agilitie quickenesse, and healthe. These thinges (ye wote well) cumming to vs, are matter of worldlye wealth: and taken from vs by fortune or by force, or ye feare of the loosing, be matter of aduersitie and tribulacion. For tribulacion semeth generallye, to signifie nothyng elles but some kynd of grief, either pain of the bodye, or heauinessse of the mynde. Nowe the bodye not to feele that it feeleth, all the witte in the worlde cannot bringe about. But that the mynde should not bee grieued neither with the Payne that the bodye feeleth, nor with occassions of heauinessse offered and geuen vnto the soule it selfe: this thing laboured the Philosophers very much about, and manye goodlye sayinges haue they toward the strength and comfort agaynst tribulacion, excyting menne to the full contempte of all worldlye losse, and despysynge of syckenesse, and all bodelye grieve, paynefull death and all. Howebeit in verye dede, for anye thyng that euer I readde in them, I neuer could yet fynde, that euer those naturall reasons were hable to geue

sufficient coumforte of them selfe: for they neuer stretche so farre, but that they leaue vntouched for lacke of necessarye knowledge, that specyalle poynte whyche is not onelye the chiefe coumforte of all: but wythoute whiche also, all other coumfortes are nothyng, that is to witte, the referryng the finall ende of theyr coumforte vnto God, and to repute and take for the speciall cause of coumfort, that by the pacient sufferance of their tribulacion, they shall atteyne his fauoure, and for theyr payne, receyue rewarde at hys hande in heauen. And for lacke of knowledge of thys ende, they did (as they nedes must) leaue vntouched also the verye speciale meane, withoute whiche, we can neuer atteyne to this coumfort, that is to wit, the gracyous ayde and helpe of God to moue, styrre, and guyde vs foreward, in the referring all oure ghostely coumfort, yea and our worldly coumforte too, all vnto that heauenlye ende. And therfore as I saye, for the lacke of these thinges, all theyr coumfortable counsayles are verye farre vnsufficient: howe be it, though they be farre vnable to cure our disease of themselfe, and therfore are not sufficient to be takēn for our physicions: some good drugges haue thei yet in their shoppes for which they may be suffered to dwell among our Poticaries, if their medicines bee made not of theyr owne braynes, but after the billes made by the greate phisicion God, prescrybyng the medicines hymselfe, and correcting the faultes of theyr erronyous receyptes. For without thys way taken with them, they shall not fayle to doe, as many bold blynde poticaries dooe: whiche eyther for lucre, or of a foolish pryd, geue sickle folke medicines of their owne deuising, and therewith kill vp in corners manye suche simple folke, as they find so foolish to putte their lyues in suche lewde and vn learned blynde bayardes handes. We shall therefore neither fully receiue these philosophers reasons in this matter, nor yet vtterlye refuse them: but vsynge them in suche order as shall bee seme them, the principall and the effectuall medicines agaynst these dyseases of tribulacion, shall we fetch from that hyghe, greate, and excellent phisicion, wythoute whome we coulde neuer bee healed of oure verye deaddely dysease of damnacion, for our necessitie wherein, the spirite of God spirituallie speaketh of hymselfe to vs, and byddeth vs of all our healthe geue him the honoure: and therein thus sayth vnto vs. *Honora medicum propter necessitatem, etenim ordinavit eum altissimus.* Honour thou the phisicion, for him hath the hygh God ordeyned for thy necessitie. Therefore lette vs require that hygh phisicion, oure blessed sauour Chryste, whose holye

manhod God ordeyned for our necessitie, to cure our deadly woundes, with the medicine made of the most holesome bloud of hys owne blessed body: that likewise as he cured by ye incomparable medicine our mortall maladye, it may like him to sende vs and putte in oure myndes suche medycynes at thys tyme, as agaynst the sickenesse and sorowes of tribulacyons, may so comfort and strength vs in his grace, as our deadly enemye the deuill, maye neuer haue the power by his poysoned dart of murmur, grudge, and impacience, to turne oure short sickenes of worldlye tribulacion, into the endles euerlasting death of infernall damnacion.

¶ *That for a foundacion men must nedes beginne with fayth*

¶ THE II. CHAPTER

SYTH all our principall coumforte must come of God, we must first presuppose in hym to whome we shall with anye ghostely counsell geue any effectuall coumfort, one ground to begyn withall: whereupon, all that we shall build must be supported and stand, that is to witte, the grounde and foundacion of fayth, without which had ready before, all the spiritual coumfort that any man maye speake of, can neuer auaile a flye. For likewise as it wer vtterlye vayne to lay natural resonys of coumfort, to him that hath no witte, so were it vndoubtedlye frustrate to laye spirituall causes of coumforte, to hym that hath no faythe. For except a man first belieue, that holye scripture is the woerde of God, and that the woerde of God is true, how can a man take any coumforte of that, that the scripture telleth him therin? Nedes must the man take little fruit of the scripture, if he either belieue not that it were the woerde of God, or els wene yt though it wer, it might yet be for al that vntrue. This fayth as it is more faynte or more strong, so shall the coumfortable woordes of holye scripture stande the man in more stede or lesse. This vertue of fayth, can neither any man geue himselfe, nor yet any one manne another: but though men maye with preaching be ministers vnto God therein, and the man with hys own free will obeying freely the inward inspiracion of God, be a weake woorker with almighty god therin: yet is ye faith in dede the gracious gift of god himself. For as Saynt James saith. *Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum de sursum est descendens a patre luminum.* Euery good gyft and euery perfit gyft,

is geuen from aboue, descending frōm the father of lightes. Therfore feelyng our fayth by manye tokens very faynt, lette vs praye to him that geueth it, that it may please him to helpe and encrease it. And lette vs first saye with him in the ghsopel: *Credo domine, adiuua incredulitatem meam*; I belieue good Lorde, but helpe thou the lacke of my belief. And after lette vs pray with the Apostles: *Domine, adauge nobis fidem*; Lord encrease oure fayth. And finallye, lette vs consider by Chrystes saying vnto them, that if we woulde not suffer the strength and feroour of our fayth to waxe luke warme, or rather key cold, and in maner lese his vigor by scatteryng our mindes abrode about so many tryfling thinges, that of the matters of our faith, we very seldom thinke but yt we woulde withdrawe our thought fro the respect and regard of all worldly fantasies, and so gather our fayth together into a little narrowe rowme. And lyke the lyttle grayne of musterde seede, whiche is of nature hote: sette it in the garden of our soule, all weedes pulled out for the better feding of our faith, then shall it growe, and so spreade vppe in heught, that the byrdes, that is to wit the holy Aungelles of heauen shal brede in our soule, and bring furth vertues in the branches of our fayth, and then with the faithfull trust, that through the true beliefe of Goddes woerde, we shall putte in his promyse, we shall be well hable to commaund a great mountayn of tribulacion, to voyde from the place where he stode in our hert, whereas with a verye fieble fayth and a faynte, we shall be scant hable to remoue a lyttle hillocke. And therefore, as for the fyrst conclusion, as we must of necessitie before any spirituall coūfert presuppose the foundaciōn of fayth: So syth no man can geue vs faith but only God, lette vs neuer cease to cal vpon God therefore.

¶ *Vyncent*. Forsooth, good vnkle, me thynketh that this foūndacion of fayth, which as you saye must be layde first, is so necessarily requisite, that withoute it, all spirituall coumforte wer vtterly geuen in vayn. And therfore now shal we pray God for a full and a fast fayth. And I pray you good vnkle, procede you farther in the processe of your matter of spirituall coumfort, agaynst tribulacyon.

¶ *Antony*. That shall I, cosin, with good wille.

¶ *The first coumforte in tribulacion, may a man take in this.
When he feleth in himself a desyre and longyng to be coum-
forted by God*

¶ THE III. CHAPTER

I WIL in my poore mind assigne for the fyrst comfort, the desire and longing to be by god comforted, and not withoute some reson call I this the first cause of coumfort. For like as the cure of that persone, is in a maner desperate, that hath no wil to be cured: so is the discomfort of that persone desperate, that desyreth not his owne coumforte.

And here shall I note you two kyndes of folke that are in tribulacion and heauines. One sorte that will seeke for no coumforte, another sorte that will. And yet of those that will not, are there also two sortes. For first one sorte there are, that are so drowned in sorowe, that they falle into a carelesse deaddelye dulnesse, regarding nothing, thinking almost of nothing, no more then if they laye in a letarge, with whiche it maye so falle, that witte and remembrance wil weare awaye, and falle euen fayre from them. And this comfortles kind of heauinesse in tribulacion, is the highest kind of the deadly sinne of slouth. Another sorte are there, that will seeke for no coumforte, nor yet none receiue, but are in their tribulacion (be it losse or sickenes) so testie, so fumythe, and so farre oute of all pacience, that it booteth no man to speake to them, and these are in a maner with impacience, as furious as though they wer in halfe a frenesye, and may with a custome of such fashioned behaueour, falle in therto full and whole. And this kynd of heauinesse in tribulacyon, is euen a mischieuous hygh braunche of the mortall sinne of yre.

Than is there as I told you, another kinde of folke, whiche fayne woulde bee coumforted, and yet are they of two sortes too. One sorte are those, that in theyr sorow seke for worldly coumfort: and of them shall we nowe speake the lesse, for the dyuers occasions that we shall after haue, to touche them in moe places then one. But this will I here saye, that I learned of Saynt Barnarde: he that in tribulacyon tourneth hymselfe vnto worldly vanities, to geat helpe and coumforte by them, fareth lyke a man that in peril of drowning catcheth whatsoeuer cometh nexte to hande, and that holdeth he fast be it neuer so simple a sticke, but then that helpeth him not: for that sticke he

draweth down vnder the water with him, and there lie they drowned both together.

So surelye if we custome our selfe to put our trust of coumfort in the delite of these pieuyshe worldlye thinges, Godde shall for that foule faulthe suffer our tribulacion to growe so great, that all the plasures of this world shall never beare vs vp, but all our pieuyshe pleasure shall in ye depth of tribulacion drown with vs.

The other sorte is I say, of those that long and desyre to be comforted of God. And as I tolde you before, they haue an vndoubted great cause of coumfort, euēn in that poynte alone, that they consider themself to desyre and longe to be by almighty god coumforted. This mynd of theirs may well be cause of great coumfort vnto them for two great consideracions. The token is yt they see themself seke for their coumforte where they cannot fayle to fynd it. For God both can geue them comfort, and will. He can for he is almighty: he will, for he is all good, and hath himself promised *Petite et accipietis*; Ask and ye shall haue. He that hath fayth (as he must nedes haue that shall take comforte) cannot doubte but that God will surely kepe hys promyse. And therefore hath he a great cause to be of good comfort, as I say, in that he considereth that he lōngeth to be comforted by him, which his fayth maketh him sure, wil not faile to comfort him.

But here consider this, that I speake here of him that in tribulacion longeth to be comforted by god: and it is he that referreth the maner of hys coumforting to God, holdyng himselfe content, whether it be by the taking away or the minishmente of the tribulacion it selfe, or by the geuing him pacience and spirituall consolacion therein. For of him that onely longeth to haue god take his trouble from hym: we cannot so well warraunt that mynde for a cause of so great coumforte. For both may he desyre that that neuer mindeth to be the better, and may misse also theffect of his desyre, because his request is happily not good for himself. And of this kynde of longing and requiering, we shall haue occasyon farther to speake hereafter. But he whiche referring the maner of his coumfort vnto god, desyreteth of god to be comforted, asketh a thing so lawful and so pleasant vnto god, that he cannot fayle to sped, and therefore hath he (as I saye) greate cause to take coumforte in the verye desyre it selfe.

Another cause hath he to take of that desire a very great occasion of comfort. For sythe hys desyre is good, and declareth vnto hym self, that he hath in God a good fayth, it is a good

token vnto hym, that he is not an abiect, cast out of gods gracious fauour, while he perceiuth yt God hath put such a vertuous wel ordered appetite in hys mynde. For as eueri euyl mynde cometh of the world, and oure self, and the dyuel, so is euery such good mynde, eyther immediatelye or by the meane of our good angel or other gracious occasion inspired into mans hart bi the goodnes of God hymselfe. And what a comfort then may this be vnto vs, whēn we by that desire perceiue a sure vndouted token, that toward our final saluacion, our sauiour is hymselfe so graciously busye about vs.

¶ *That tribulacion is a meane to draw men to that good minde, to desyre and long for the conforte of God*

¶ THE IIII. CHAPTER

¶ *Vincent*

FORSOOTHE good vnkle thys good mynde of longing for Gods cōforte, is a good cause of greate comfort in deede: our Lorde in tribulacion send it vs. But by thys I see wel, that wo may they be, whych in trybulacion lacke that mynde, and that desyre, not to be comforted bi God, but are either of slothe or impaciēnce discomfortlesse, or of foly seeke for theyr chiefe ease and comfort any wher els.

¶ *Anthony.* That is good cosyn, verye true, as long as they stand in that state. But then must you consider, that tribulacion is yet a meane to dryue him from that state. And yt is one of the causes for whych God sendeth it vnto man. For albeit that paine wasordeined of God for the punishment of synnes (for whyche they that neuer can now but synne, can neuer be but euer punished in hel, yet in thys world, in whych hys highe mercye geueth mēn space to be better, the punishment by tribulacion that he sendeth, serueth ordinarily for a meane of amendment. Saynt Paule was hymselfe sore agaynst Christ, tyl Christe gaue hym a great fal and threw hym to the ground, and strake hym starke blynde: and with that tribulacion he turned to him at the first worde, and God was hys phisiciōn, and healed hym soone after both in bodi and soule by hys minister Ananias, and made him his blessed Apostle. Some are in the begynning of tribulacion very stubborne and stiffe against God, and yet at length tribulacion bryngeth thēm home. The proude kyng

Pharao did abide and endure two or thre of the fyrist plagues, and would not ones stoupe at them. But thēn God layed on a sorer lashe, that made hym cry to hym for helpe, and then sent he for Moyses and Aaron, and confessed hymselfe a synner, and God for good and ryghtuous, and prayed them to pray for hym, and to withdraw that plague, and he would let them go. But when his tribulacion was withdrawn, thēn was he naught agayne. So was hys tribulacion occasion of hys profyt, and hys helpe againe cause of hys harme. For hys tribulacion made hym cal to God, and his helpe made hard hys harte agayne. Many a man that in an easy tribulacion falleth to seeke hys ease in the pastyme of worldly fantasyes, fyndeth in a greater paine, al those confortes so feable, that he is fayne to fal to the seekyng of Gods helpe, And therfore is I say, the veri tribulacion it selfe, many tymes a meane, to bryng the man to the taking of the afore remembred comfort therein: that is to wyt to the desyre of comfort geuen by God, whych desyre of Gods conforte is as I haue proued you, great cause of cōfōrt it selfe.

¶ *The special meanes to get thys fyrist comfort in tribulacion*

¶ THE V. CHAPITER

How be it, though the tribulaciōn it selfe, be a meane often tymes to get man thys first comfort in it: yet it selfe some tyme alone bryngeth not a man to it, and therefore sythe without this comfort fyrist hadde, there can in tribulacion none other good comfort com forth, we must laboure the meanes that this first cōfōrt may come. And therunto semeth me, that if the mān of sloth or impaciēnce, or hope of worldly comfort haue no mynde to desyre and seeke for conforte of God, those that are hys friendes that come to vysyt and comfort hym, must afore al thyng put that poynt in his minde, and not spend the tyme (as they comonly do) in tryflyng and turninge hym to the fantasyes of the world. They must also moue hym to pray God to put thys desyre in hys mynde, whych when he getteth once, he then hath the fyrist cōfōrt. And wythout dout (if it be wel considered) a comfort meruelous great. His friendes also that thus counsayle hym must vnto thattaynyng thereof helpe to pray for hym them selfe, and cause hym to desyre good folke to helpe hym to prai therfore. And then if these wayes be taken for the getting, I nothing dout but the goodnes of God shal giue it,

¶ It sufficeth not that a man haue a desyre to be comforted by God onelye by the taking away of the tribulacion

¶ THE VI. CHAPTER

¶ Vincent

VERELY me thinketh, good vncle, that thys counsayle is verye good. For excepte the persone haue first a desyre to be cōforted by God, els can I not see what it cān auaile to giue hī anye further counsayle of any spiritual comfort: how be it what if the man haue this desyre of gods comfort, that is to wyt, that it may please God to comfort him in his tribulacion by taking that tribulacion from hym, is not this a good desyre of Gods comfort and a desyre sufficient for hym that is in tribulacion?

¶ Anthony. No Cosyn, that is it not. I touched before a word of this poynt and passed it ouer, because I thought it wold fal in our way againe, and so wot I wel it wyll ofter than once. And nowe am I glad that you moue it me here your self. A man may many times wel and without sinne, desyre of God the tribulacion to be taken from him, but neither maye we desyre that in euerye case, nor yet very wel in no case (except verye fewe) but vnder a certaine condicōn, either expressed or implied. For trybulacions are ye wote wel of many sondrye kyndes: some by losse of goodes or possessions, som by the sykenes of our selfe, and some by the losse of friendes or by some other payne put vnto our bodies: som by the dread of ye losing these things that we faine wold sauē, vnder which feare fall all the same things that we haue spoken before. For we may fear losse of goodes or possessiōns or the losse of our friendes, theyr grieve and trouble or our owne: by syknes, imprisonment or other bodylye paine: wee mai be troubled with the dread of death, and many a good man is troubled most of al with the feare of that thing whyche he that most nede hath, feareth lest of al, that is to wyt, the fear of losing through deadly syn the lyfe of his sely soule. And this last kinde of tribulacion as ye sorest tribulacion of al, though we touch here and there som peeces thereof before, yet the chief part and the principal point wil I reserue to treate apart effectually yt mater in the last end. But now as I sayd wher the kindes of tribulacion are so dyuers, some of these tribulacions a man maye pray God take from him, and take some comfort in the trust that God wil so do, and therefore against

hunger, sikenes, and bodily hurt and againste the losse of eyther body or soule mēn may lawfully many tymes pray to the goodnes of God either for them self or theyr friend. And toward this purpose, are expresselye praied many deuout orasons in the comon seruice of our mother holy church. And towarde our helpe in some of these things serue some of the peticions in the *pater noster*, wherin we pray dayly for our daylye foode, and to be preserued from the fal in temptacion, and to be deliuered frōm euil. But yet may we not alway pray for the taking away from vs of euery kynde of temptacion. For if a man should in euery syknes pray for his helth againe, whēn should he shew himselfe content to dye, and to departe vnto God? and that mynde must a man haue ye wote wel, or elles it wyl not be wel. One tribulacion is it to good men to feele in themselfe the cōflict of the flesh against the soule, the rebelliōn of sensualitye, against the rule and gouernance of reason, the reliques yt remayne in mankinde, of olde originall synne, of which saint Paule so sore complayneth in his epistle to the Romaines. And yet may we not prai, while we stand in this lyfe, to haue this kinde of tribulaciōn vtterly taken from vs. For it is lefte vs by Gods ordināunce to striue againste it, and fight withal, and by reasōn and grace to master it, and vse it for the mater of our merite. For the saluacion of our soul, maye we boldly pray. For grace may we boldly pray, for faith, for hope and for charity, and for euery such vertue, as shal serue vs to heauenward. But as for al other things before remēmbred, in which is cōtained ye matter of euery kind of tribulacion, we may neuer wel make praiers so presyseley, but yt we must expresse or employ a cōdicion therein, that is to wyt, yt if God se the cōntrary better for vs: we refer it hole to his wil: and in stede of our grief takyng away, pray yt God may sende vs of hys goodnes either spiritual comfort to take it gladly, or strength at the least wise to beare it paciēntli. For if we determine wt our self yt we wil take no comfort in nothing, but in the takīg of our tribulaciōn frōm vs, thēn eyther prescribe wee to God yt we wyll he shall no better turne doe vs though he wold, then we wil ourself appoint hym, or els do we declare, yt what thing is best for vs, our self cān better tell then he. And therfore I say let vs in trybulacion desire his helpe and comfort, and let vs remit the maner of that comfort vnto hys own high pleasure: which when we do, let vs nothyng dout, but yt like as his hygh wysdōm better seeth what is best for vs, thēn we can se our self: so shal his high soueraygne goodnes giue vs yt thing that shal in dede be best. For els if we wil presume to stand to our own

choyse (excepte it so be that God offer vs the choise himself, as he did to Dauid in ye choise of his own punishment, after hys hyghe pride conceiued in the nombring of his people we may foolyshly chose the wurst: and by the prescribing vnto God our self so presisely what we wyl that he shal do for vs (except that of hys gracious fauour, he reiect our foly) he shall for indignacion graunt vs our own request, and after shall we wel fynde yt it shal turne vs to harm. How many men attayne helth of body that wer better for theyr soules helth their bodyes wer sike stil? How many get out of prison that hap on such harme abrod, as the prysōn shuld haue kept them fro. How many yt haue ben loth to lese their worldly goodes, haue in keping of their goodes sone after lost theyr life? So blind is our mortality and so vnware what wyl fall, so vnsure also what maner mynde we wyl our self haue to morow, yt god could not lightly do man a more vengeaūnce, thēn in thys world to graunt hym hys own foolyshe wyshes. What wyt haue we poore fooles to wyt what wyl serue vs, whēn the blessed apostle hymself in hys sore tribulacion prayeng thryse vnto god, to take it away frōm hym, was answered agayne by God, in a maner yt he was but a foole in asking that request, but that the helpe of Gods grace in yt tribulaciōn to strēngth hym, was far better for him thēn to take yt tribulacion frōm him. And therfore by experiēnce perceiuing wel the truth of ye lesson, he geueth vs good warning not to be to bolde of oure myndes, when wee requyre oughte of God nor to be presise in our askinge, but refer the choyse to God at hys own pleasure. For hys own holy spryit so sore desyreth our weale, yt as mēn might sai, he groneth for vs, in such wise as no tong can tel. *Nos autem (sayth saynte Paule) quid oremus vt oportet, nessimus, sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.* We, what we may pray for yt wer behouable for vs, can not our self tel: but the spryrt himself desireth for vs with vnspeakable gronynges, and therfore I say for conclusion of thys poynte, let vs neuer aske of God presisely our owne ease by delyuerye from our tribulacion, but praye for hys ayd and comfort, by whyche wayes hym selfe shal best lyke, and then maye we take cōfōrt euēn of our such request. For both be we sure that thys mynde cōmmeth of God, and also be we very sure that as he begynneth to woorke wyth vs, so (but yf our self flyt frō hym) he wyll not fayle to tary wyth vs, and thēn he dwelling with vs, what trouble can do vs harme? *Si deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* If God be wyth vs, saieth saint Paul, who cān stānd against vs?

¶ A great cōfōrt it may be in tribulacōn, that eueri tribulacion is (if we ourself wyl) a thing either medicinable, or els more then medicinable

¶ THE VII. CHAPTER

¶ Vincent

You haue, good vncle, well opened and declared the questiōn that I demānded you, that is to wyt what maner confort a man might pray for in tribulaciōn. And now procede forth good vncle, and shew vs yet farther some other spiritual comfort in tribulacion. ¶ *Anthony*. Thys may be, thyncketh me good cosyn, greate comfort in tribulacion, that euerye trybulacion whych any tyme falleth vnto vs, is eyther sent to be medicinable if men wyl so take it, or may become medicinable if men wyl so make it, or is better then medicinable, but if we wyll forsake it.

¶ *Vincent*. Surely thys is very comfortable if we may well perceiue it. ¶ *Anthony*. These thre things that I tel you, we shal cōsider thus. Euery tribulaciōn that we fal in, cometh either by our own knowēn deseruying dede, bringing vs therunto, as the sykenes that foloweth our intemperate surfayt, or the prisonmēnt or other punishment put vpon a man for hys heynous crime, or els is it sente vs by God wythout any certayne deseruyng cause open and knownen vnto our selfe, eyther for punyshment of some sinnes passed. Certaynlye we knowe not for whiche, or for preseruyng vs from synne in whyche we were els lyke to fal, or fynally for no respect of the mans synne at all, but for the prooef of his pacience and encrease of hys merite. In al the former cases tribulacion is (if we wyl) medicinable. In thys last case of al it is better thēn medicinable.

¶ The declaracion larger concernyng them that fall in tribulacion by theyr owne well knownen fault, and that yet suche tribulacion is medicinable

¶ THE VIII. CHAPTER

¶ Vincent

THIS semeth me very good, good vncle, sauing that it semeth somewhat brief and shorte, and thereby me thinketh somewhat obscure and darke. ¶ *Anthony*. We shall therefore to gyue it

lyght wythal touch euery mēmber somewhat more at large. One mēmber is you wote wel of thēm that fal in tribulacion thorowe their owne certayne wel deseruing dede open and knownen vnto them self, as where we fal in a syknes folowyng vpon our owne glotonous feastyng, or a man that is punished for hys owne open fault. These tribulacions lo and such other lyke, albeit that thei mai seme uncomfortable in that a man may be sory to thynke himself the cause of his own harme: yet hath he good cause of cōfōrt in them, if he consider that he maye make the medicinable for hymself (if he himself wyll.) For wher as ther was dew to that synne (except it wer purged here) a farre greater punishment after thys world in an other place, thys worldlie trybulacion of payne and punishment, by Gods good prouision for him put vpō him here in thys world before, shal by ye meane of Christes passion, if the mān wil in true fayth and good hope, by meeke and pacient sufferance of hys tribulacion so make it, serue him for a sure medicine to cure him, and clerely dyscharge hym of al the syckenesse and disease of those paines that els he should suffer after. For suche is the great goodnes of almyghtye God, that he punisheth not one thyng twyse. And albeit so that thys punishment is put vnto the man, not of hys owne eleccion and free choise, but so by force as he would fayne auoyde it, and falleth in it against his wil, and therfore semeth worthy no thank, yet so far passeth ye great goodnes of almighty god ye pore vnperfitt goodnes of man, that though mēn make theyr reckening one here wyth an other suche, God yet of hys high bounti in mans accōmpt toward hi alloweth it far otherwise. For though yt otherwise a man fal in his pain by hys own faut, and also first agaist hys wyl, yet as sone as he confesseth his fault, and applyeth hys wil to be content to suffer that payne and punyshement for the same, and waxeth sory, not for that onely that he shall sustayne suche punyshement, but for that also, that he hath offendēd God, and therby deserued much more, our Lorde frōm that tyme counteth it not for payne taken agaynst hys wyl, but it shall be a marueilous good medicine, and worke as a wyllinglye taken payne the purgacion and clēnsing of hys soule with gracious remyssion of hys sinne, and of the far greater payne, that els had ben prepared therefore peraduenture for euer in hel. For mani ther are vndoubtedly that would els dryue forth and dye in theyr deadly sinne, which yet in such tribulacion feelyng theyr owne frailety so effectually, and the false flatteryng worlde faylyng them, so fully turne goodlye to God, and cal for mercy, and bi grace make vertue of necessiti,

and make a medicine of theyr maladye taknyge theyr trouble mekely, and make a right godly end. Consider wel the story of Acham that cōmmytted sacrilege at the great city of Hierico wherupon God tooke a great vengeaūnce vpon the children of Israel, and after tolde them the cause and bad them go seke the fault and trye it out by lottes, when the lot fel vpon the very man that dyd it, being tryed by the fallyng firste vpon hys trybe, and then vpon hys famlye, and then vpon his house, and fynallye vpon hys person, he myghte wel see that he was deprehended and taken agaynst hys wyl, but yet at the good exhortacion of Josue saying vnto hym, *Fili mi, da gloriam deo Israel, et confitere et indica mihi quid feceris et ne abscondas;*—Myne owne sonne gyue glori to the God of Israel, and cōfesse and shew me what thou hast done, and hyde it not,—he confessed humbly the theft, and mekeli toke his death therfore, and had I doubt not, both strength and comfort in hys payn, and died a very good mā (which if he had neuer come in tribulacion, had bene in peryl neuer haply to haue hadde iust remorce thereof in all hys whole lyfe, but might haue died wretchedly and gone to the dyuel eternally, and thus made this theefe a good medicine of his well deserued Payne and tribulacion. Consyder ye wel conuerted thefe that hong on Christes ryght hand, dyd not he (by hys meke sufferaunce and humble knowledge of hys fault asking forgiuenes of God, and yet content to suffer for his syn) make of his iust punishment and wel deserued tribulacion, a very good speciall medicine to cure him of al Payne in thother worlde, and wyn hym ēternal saluacion: and thus I saye, that thys kinde of trybulacion though it seme the most base and the less comfortable, is yet (if the manne wyl so make it) a verye merueylous holesome medicine, and may therfore be to the mān that wil so consider it, a greate cause of comfort and spiritual consolacion.

¶ The second poynt, that is to wit, that tribulaciōn that is sent vs by God without ani open certaine deseruing cause knownen to our selfe, and that this kynde of tribulacion is medicinable yf men wyl so take it, and therfore great occasion of confort

¶ THE IX. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verelye, myne vnkle, this first kinde of tribulacion haue you to my minde opened sufficiently, and therfore I pray you resort now to the second. ¶ *Anthony.* The seconde kynde was you wote wel of such tribulacion as is so sēnt vs by God, that

we knowe no certayne cause deseruïng that presēnt trouble as we certainly know that vpon such a surfyt we fel in such a sickenes, or as the theefe knoweth that for such a certayn theft he is fallen into such a certain punishment. But yet sithe we seldom lacke faultes against God, worthy and well deseruing great punishment, in dede we may well thinke, and wisedome it is so to do, that with sinne we haue deserued it, and that God for some synne sendet it, though we certainly know not our self for which; and therfore as yet thus farforth is this kinde of tribulacion somewhat in effect in comfort to be taken like vnto ye other. For this as you see if we thus wil take it, wel reckening it to be sent for synne and suffering it meekely therfore, is medicinable against the paine in ye other world to come, for our sinnes in this world passed, which is as I shewed you a cause of right great comfort. But yet maye than this kinde of tribulacion be to some men of more sober liuing, and thereby of ye more cleare conscience somewhat a little more comfortable: for though they may none otherwise reckon themself then sinners. For, as saint Paul saith: *nullius mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc iustificatus sum;* Mi conscience grudgeth me not of anye thinge, but yet am I not therby iustified. And as Saint John saith: *Si dixerimus quia peccatum nōn habemus ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est;* If wee say that we haue no sinne in vs, wee begyle our self and truth is ther not in vs) yet for as muche as the cause is to thēm not so certaine as it is to the other afore remembred in the first kind, and that it is also certain that God somtyme sendeth tribulacion for keeping and preseruing a man frōm such syn, as he should els fail in, and sometime also for exercise of theyr pacience and encrease of merite: great cause of ēncrease in comfort haue those folk of the clearer conscience in the feruour of their tribulacion, in that they may take the cōforte of a double medicine, and of that thing also that is of the kinde which we shal finally speake of, that I cal better then medicinable. But as I haue before spoken of this kinde of tribulacion how it is medicinable in that it cureth the synne passed and purchaseth remission of the pain dewe therfore, so let vs somwhat cōsider how this tribulacion sent vs by God is medicinable, in that it preserueth vs from the sinnes into which we wer els like to fal. If that thing be a good medicine that restoreth vs our health when we lese it: as good a medicine must this nedes be that preserueth our helth whyle we haue it, and suffreth vs not to fall into that paynfull sickenes that muste after dryue vs to a payneful plaister. Now seeth God somtyme that worldly wealth

is with one (yt is yet good) cōmming vpōn him so fast that foreseing how much weight of worldlye welth the man may beare, and how muche wil ouer charge him, and enhaunce hys hart vp so high, that grace should fal frōm hym lowe, God of hys goodnes I saye preuenteth his fal, and sendeth him tribulacion betime, whyle he is yet good to gar him ken hys maker, and by lesse likinge the false flattering world, set a crosse vpon the shyp of his hart, and beare a lowe sayle theron, that the boisterous blast of pride blowe him not vnder the water. Some yonge louely lady, lo that is yet good inough, God seeth a storme com toward her, that wold, if her helth and her fatte feding should a little longer last, strike her into som lecherous loue, and in stede of her old acquainted knight, laye her a bed wt a newe acquainted knaue. But God louing her more tēnderly then to suffer her fal into such shameful beastly sinne, sendeth her in season a goodly faire feruent feuer, that maketh her bones to rattle, and wasteth away her wanton flesh, and beutyflieth her faire fell wyth the colore of a kites clawe, and maketh her looke so louely, that her louer would haue little lust to looke vpon her, and make her also so lusty, that if her louer lay in her lap, she shuld so sore long to breake vnto him the very botome of her stomake, yt she should not be able to restraine it frōm him, but sodainly lay it all in hys necke. Dyd not as I before shewed you the blessed apostle hymself confesse that the high reuelacions yt God had giuen hym, mygt haue enhaūnced him into so high pride, that he might haue caught a foule fal, had not the prouident goodnes of God prouided for his remedy? And what was his remedy, but a payneful tribulacion so sore, yt he was faine thryse to cal to God to take the tribulacion frōm him: and yet woulde not God graunt his request, but let him lie so lōng therin, tyl hymself yt saw more in saynt Paule then saynt Paul saw in himself, wiste wel the tyme was come, in which he myght wel withoute hys harme take it from him: and thus you se good Cosine, yt tribulacion is double medicine, bothe a cure of the synne passed, and a preseruatue fro the syn that is to come. And therfore in thys kynde of tribulacion is ther good occasion of a double cōfōrt, but that is (I say) diuersly to sundry dyuers folkes, as theyr owne conscience is with syn combred or clere. How be it I will abuise no man to be so bold as to thinke that theyr tribulacion is sent thēm, to kepe them fro the pryde of theyr holynes. Let mēn leaue that kynde of comfort hardly to Saynte Paule, tyll theyr lyuinge be lyke: but of the remanaunt may men wel take great comfort and good besyde.

¶ Of the thyrd kynde of tribulacion whiche is not sēnt a mān for his sin, but for exercise of his paciēnce and ēncrease of his merite, which is better thēn medicinable

¶ THE X. CHAPITER

Vincent. The thyrd kynde, vncle, yt remayneth now behinde, that is to wyt, whiche is sent a man by God, and not for his syn, neither cōmmitted, nor whych wold els come, and therefore is not medicinable, but sent for exercyse of our pacience, and encrease of our merite: and therfore better thēn medicinable, though it be as you say, and as in deede it is better for the man then anye of the other twoo kyndes in another world, where the reward shal be receiued: yet can I not see by what reason a mān may in this world wher the tribulacion is suffered, take any more comfort therin, thēn in ani of the other twayne that are sent a man for his syn: sithe he can not here know, whether it be sent hym for syn before cōmmitted, or syn that els should fal, or for encrease of merite and reward after to come, namelye sith eueri mān hath cause inough to feare and thinke that his syn alredy passed hathe deserued it, and that it is not without peril a mān to think otherwise. ¶ *Anthony.* This that you sai, cosin, hath place of truth, in far the most part of men, and therfore must they not enuye nor dysdayne (sythe they may take in theyr tribulacion, consolacion for theyr part sufficient) that som other yt more be worthy, take yet a greate deale more. For as I tolde you Cosyn, though the best muste confesse hymselfe a synner, yet be ther many men (though to ye multitude few) yt for ye kynd of their liuing, and therbi the clerenes of their conscience may wel and wythout sinne haue a good hope that God sendeth theim some greate grieve for exercyse of their pacyence, and for in-crease of theyr merite, as it appeareth not onely bi S. Paul, in the place before remembred: but also by ye holy mān Job, which in sundry places of his dispiciōns wt his burdenous cōforters letted not to say, that the clerenes of hys owne conscience declared and shewed to himself that he deserued not that sore tribulacion that he than had: howbeit as I told you before, I wyl not aduise euerye man at aduenture to be bold vpon thys maner of comfort. But yet some menne know I such, as I durst (for theyr more ease and comfort in theyr great and greuous paynēs) put thēm in right good hope, that God sendeth it vnto them: not so muche for theyr punishment, as for exercise of their pacience.

And some trybulacions are ther also that grow vpon such causes, that in those cases I wold neuer let but alway wold without any dout, giue that counsaile and comfort to any man. ¶ *Vincent.* What causes, good vnkle, bee those? ¶ *Anthony.* Mary Cosin, wheresoever a man falleth in tribulacion for the maintenaunce of iustice, or for the defēnce of Gods cause. For if I should happe to fynde a man that had long liued a verye vertuous life, and had at last happed to fal into the Turkes handes, and there dyd abyde by the truth of his faith, and with the suffering of al kynde of torments taken vpon hys body, styl did teach and testify the truth, if I shoulde in his passion geue hym spiritual comfort, myght I be bolde to tell hym no farther, but that he should take pacience in hys payne, and that God sendeth it him for his syn, and yt he is wel worthy to haue it although it wer yet much more? he might then well answer me, and suche other comforters, as Job answred his, *Onerosi consolatores estis vos.* Burdenous and heauye cōforters be you. Nay I wold not faile to byd him boldly whyle I shuld se him in his passion, cast sin and hel and purgatory, and al vpon the diuels pate, and dout not but lyke as if he gaue ouer hys holde, al his merite were loste, and he tourned to myserye: so if he stand and perseuer styl in the confession of hys faith, al his whole pain shal turn al into glory. Yea more shall I yet saye then thys: that if ther wor a christen man that had among those infidels commytted a very deadlye cryme, suche as were worthy death, not by theyr lawes oneli, but by Christes to, as man-slaughter, or adultery, or suche other thyng lyke, yf when he were taken, he wer offered pardon of hys lyfe, vpon condicion that he should forsake the faith of Christ: if thys man would now rather suffer death the so do, should I comfort hym in hys pain but as I wold a malefactour? Nay thys man though he should haue dyed for his syn, dyeth now for Christes sake, while he myght lyue styl if he woulde forsake hym. The bare pacient takyng of hys death, should haue serued for the satisfaccion of hys synne through the meryte of Christes passion, I meane without help of whych no payne of our owne coulde be satisfactory. But now shal Christ for hys forsakyng of hys owne lyfe, in the honour of hys fayth, forgyue the Payne of al hys synnes, of his mere liberality, and accept al the Payne of hys death, for merite of rewarde in heauen, and shall assigne no part therof to the payment of his debt in purgatory, but shal take it al as an offering, and requyte it al with glory. And thys man among Christen men, al had he bene before a diuel, nothing

after would I dout to take hym for a martir. ¶ *Vincent.* Verely good vnkle me thinketh this is sayd maruelous wel, and it speci-
alli delighteth and cōfōrteth me to heare it, because of our
principall feare that I first spake of, the Turkes cruel incursiōn
into thys country of ours. ¶ *Anthony.* Cosin, as for the matter
of that feare, I purpose to touche last of all, nor I ment not
here to speake therof, had it not ben that the vehemēcy of your
obieccīōn, brought it in my way. But rather woulde I els haue
put some example for this place, of such as suffer trybulacion for
mayntenaunce of right and iustice, and that rather chose to
take harme, then do wrong in any maner of matter. For
surely yf a man may (as in dede he may) haue great comfort in
the clerenes of hys consiēnce, that hath a false crime put vpōn
him, and by false wytnes proued vppon hym, and he falsely
punished, and put to worldye shame and payn therfore: an
hūndreth times more comfort may he haue in his harte, that
wher white is called blacke, and right is called wronge, abydeth
by the truth, and is persecuted for iustice. ¶ *Vincent.* Then if a
man sewe me wrōngfulli for my own lande in whych my self haue
good right, it is a comfort yet to defend it wel, sythe God shal
gyue me thanke therefore.

¶ *Anthony.* Nay nay, Cosyn, naye, there walke you some-
what wide: for ther you defende your owne righte for your
temporal auayle: and sythe saynt Paul counsaileth, *non vos
mei defendentes charissimi:* Defend not your self my most dere
frendes. And our sauiour counsaileth: *Si quis vult tecum
iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam tollere, demitte ei et pallium.*
If a man wyl stryue with the at ye law and take away thy
coate, leaue him thy gowne to. The defence therefore of our
owne right asketh no reward. Saye you spedē wel if you get
leaue, looke hardely for no thanke. But on the other side if
you do as saint Paule biddeth. *Querentes non que sua sunt
sed que aliorum;* Seke not for your owne profitte but for other
folkes: but defend therfore of pity a poore wyddowe or a poore
fatherles chyld, and rather suffer sorowe by some strong extor-
ciener then suffer them take wrong. Or if you be a iudge and
wil haue such zeale to iustice that you wyl rather abyde tribula-
cion by the malice of some mightyē man then iudge wrong for
hys fauour: suche tribulacions lo bee those that are better then
onely medicinable, and euery man vpon whom thei fal, may be
bold so to reken them: and in his depe trouble may wel say to
hymself the wordes that Christ hath taught him for his comfort.
Beati misericordes quoniam misericordiam consequēntur; Blessed

be the merciful mēn, for they shal haue mercy geuen them. *Beati qui persecutionē patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnū celorum.* Blessed be they that suffer persecucion for iustice, for theirs is the kyngdome of heauen. Heare is an highe comfort lo for them that are in the case. And in thys case theyr owne conscience can shewe it them, and so may fulfil their heartes wyth spiritual ioy that the pleasure may farre surmount the heauynes, and the grieve of all theyr temporal trouble. But Gods nearer cause of faith against the Turkes hath yet a farre passing cōfōrt that by many degrees, far excelleth thys whyche as I haue sayde, I purpose to treate laste: and for thys tyme thys suffiseth concernyng the special comfort that men may take in thys thyrde kynde of tribulacion.

¶ *An other kynde of conforte yet in the base kynde of tribulacion sent for our synne*

¶ THE XI. CHAPITER

Vincent. Of trouth, good vngle, albe it that euery of these kyndes of tribulacions haue cause of comfort in them, as you haue wel declared, if men wyl so cōsider them, yet hath this third kynde aboue al, a special prerogatiue therein. ¶ *Anthony.* That is vndoubtedly true, but yet is there not good Cosyn the moste base kynde of theym all, but that it hathe mo causes of conforte then I haue spoken of yet. For I haue you wote wel in that kynde that is sente vs for oure synne, spoken of none other confort yet but twayne: that is to wyt, one that it refrayneth vs from synne that els we would fal in, and in that serueth vs through the meryte of Chrystes passiōn as a meane by which God kepeth vs from hel, and serueth for the satisfaccion of such Payne as els we shoulde endure in purgatory. Howbeit ther is ther in an other greate cause of ioye besydes thys: for surelye those paynes here sent vs for oure synne in what so euer wyse they happen vnto vs, be our synne neuer so sore, nor neuer so open and euident vnto our selfe and all the worlde to, yet if wee pray for grace to take it mekely and paciēntli, and confessing to God that it is farre ouer to lytle for our faulte, beseche hym yet neuerthelesse, that sythe we shal com hence so voide of al good workes wherof we should haue any reward in heauēn, to be not onely so merciful to vs as to take that our present tribulacion in relief of oure paynes in purgatorye, but also so gracious vnto vs, as to take our paciēnce therin for a matter of

merite and rewarde in heauen. I verly trust, and nothynge dout it, but God shal of hys high bounti graunt vs our boone. For lykewise as in hel, paine onely serueth for punishment without any maner of purging, because al possibilitye of purgynge is passed: and in purgatory punishment serueth for onelie purging, because ye place of deseruing, is passed. So while we be yet in this world in whiche is our place and our time of meryte and wel deseruing, the tribulacion that is sent vs for our synne here, shal (yf we faythfully so desyre) bysyde the clensyng and purging of our Payne, serue vs also for encrease of rewarde. And so shall I suppose and truste in Gods goodnes all such penaunce and good workes a sa mān wyllingly performeth enioyned by hys gostly father in confession, or which he wyllinglynly farther doth of hys own deuociōn besyde. For though mans penaunce with al the good workes that he can do, be not able to satisfy of them selfe, for the leaste synne that we doe, yet the lyberall goodnes of God throughe the meryte of Christes bitter passion, without whych al our workes could neither satisfy, nor deserue, nor yet do not in deede neyther merite nor satisfy so much as a sponeful to a great vessel ful, in comparsion of the merite and satisfaccion that Christ hath merited and satisfied for vs himself, this lyberal goodnesse of God I say, shall yet at our faithfull instaunce and request, cause our penaunce and tribulacion paciently taken in thys worlde to serue vs in the other world bothe for release and reward, tempored after such rate as his high goodnes and wysedome shal se conuenient for vs: wherof our blynde mortallity can not here imagine nor deuyse the stynt. And thus hath yet euēn the first kinde of tribulacion and the moste base, though not fully so great as the second, and very farre lesse then the third, farre greater cause of conforte yet, then I spake of before.

¶ *A certaine obieccōn agaynst the thinges aforesayde*

¶ THE XII. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verely, good vnkle, this liketh me very wel, but yet is there ye wote wel some of these things now brought in question, for as for any Payne dewe for our sinne to be minished in purgatory by the pacient sufferance of our tribulacion here, there are ye wot wel many that vtterly deny that, and affirme for a sure truth that ther is no purgatory at al. And then is if they say

true ye cause of ye comfort gon, if the comfort that we should take be but in vayne and nede note. They saye ye wote well also, that men merite nothing at al, but God geueth al for faith alone, and that it wer synne and sacrilege to looke for reward in heauen, either for oure pacience and glad suffering for Gods sake, or for any other good dede: and then is there gone, if this be thus the other cause of our farther comfort to. ¶ *Anthony. Cosyn*, if som thinges were as they be not, then shulde some thinges be as they shall not. I can not in dede saye nay, but that some men haue of late brought vp some such opinions, and manye mo then these besydes, and haue spread them abrode: and albeit that is a ryght heauy thyng to see suche varyaunces in our belief ryse and grow among our self to the great encoraging of the comon enemyes of vs al, whereby they haue our fayth in derisiōn, and catch hope to ouerwhelme vs all, yet doe there three thynges not a lyttle conforte my mynde.

The fyrst is, that in some communicacions had of late together, hath appeared good lykelyhoode of som good agreement to growe together in one accord of our faythe.

The second, that in the meane whyle tyll thys maye come to passe, contencions, despicions, wyth vncharitable behauoure, is prohibited and forboden, in effect vpon al partes: al such partes I meane as fel before to fyght for it.

The thyrde is, that al Germanye for all theyr dyuers opynions, yet as they agree together in profession of Christes name, so agree they nowe together in preparacion of a common power, in defence of Christendome against our common enemye the Turke, and I truste in God, that thys shall not onelye helpe vs here to strength vs in thys warre, but also that as God hathe caused theym to agre together in the defence of hys name, so shal he graciously bring them to agre together in the truth of his faith. Therfore wyl I lette God worke and leaue of contencion: and nothyng shall I nowe saye, but that with whiche they that are themselfe of the contrary mynde, shal in reason haue no cause too bee dyscontented.

For first, as for purgatory though they thinke there be none, yet sythe they deny not that al the corps of Christendome bi so manye hundred yeares haue belieued the contrarye: and amonge them all, the olde interpretours of scripture from the Apostles dayes downe too oure tyme, of whom they denie not manye for holye saints, that I dare not now belieue these men against al those. These men muste of theyr curtesy hold my poore feare excused, and I beseche our Lorde hartelye for them,

that when they depart oute of thys wretched world, they finde no purgatory at all, so God keepe them frō hel.

As for the meryte of manne in hys good woorkes, neither are they that denye it full agreed amonge themself, nor anye manne is there almoste of them al, that sithe they beganne to wryte, hath not somewhat chaunged and varied frō hymselfe; and farre the more parte are thus farre agreed wyth vs, that lyke as we graunt them that no good woorke is ought worthe to heauenwarde without faythe, and that no good woorke of man is rewardable in heauen of his own nature, but throughe the mere goodnes of God, that lust to set so high a price vpon so poore a thing: and that thys price God setteth through Christes passiōn, and for that also that they be his owne woorkes with vs (for good workes to Godward woorketh no man, without God worke with him); and as we graunt theym also that no man maye be proude of his workes for his owne vnperfecte woorkyng, and for that in all that man may doe, he can do God no good, but is a seruaunte vnprofitable, and doth but his bare duetye. As we I say graunt vnto them these thinges, so this one thing or twaine doe they graunt vs agayne that menne are bounde to woorke good woorkes if they haue time and power, and that who so woorketh in true faithe moste, shall bee moste rewarded. But then sette they thereto, that all hys rewarde shall bee geuen hym for hys faithe alone, and nothyng for hys woorkes at all, because hys faithe is the thynge (they saye) that forceth him to woorke wel. Stryue wyl I not wyth theym for thys matter now, but yet thys I truste to the greate goodnesse of God, that if the question hange on that narowe poynte, whyle Christe faythe in the Scripture in so many places, that menne shall in heauen bee rewarded for theyr woorkes, he shall neuer suffer our soules that are but meane wytted menne, and can vnderstand hys woordes, but as hymselfe hath set them, and as olde holye Sayntes hathe construed them before, and as all Chrysten people this thousande yeare haue beleiued, to bee dampned for lacke of percevuynge suche a sharpe subtile thyng: speciallye sith some menne that haue right good wyttes, and are beside that ryghte wel lerned to, cān in no wise perceiue for what cause or why these folk yt fro good workes take away the reward and geue yt rewarde all whole to faithe alone, geue the rewarde to fayth rather then to charytye. For thys graunte they them self, that fayth serueth of nothyng, but if she be companied with her syster charytye. And then sayth the scripture to. *Fides, spes, charitas, tria hec, maior autem horum est charitas.*

Of these three vertues, faith, hope, and charytye, of al these three, the greatest is charytye, and therfore as worthye to haue the thanke as fayth. How be it as I sayde, I wyl not stryue therefore, nor in dede as our matter standeth, I shal not greatly nede. For if they say that he whych suffereth tribulacion or martirdome for the faith, shal haue high reward, not for his worke, but for his wel working faythe: yet syth that they graunt that haue it, he shal, the cause of high comfort in ye third kynde of tribulacion standeth, and that is you wot wel the effect of al my purpose. ¶ *Vincent.* Verely good vnkle, this is truly dryuen and tryed vnto the vttermoste as it semeth me. And therfore I prai you procede at your pleasure.

¶ *That a man oughte to be comfortable to hymself and haue good hope and be ioyfull also in tribulacion, appeareth well by thys, that a man hathe greate cause of feare and heauines that continueth alway stil in welth, discontinued wyth no tribulacion*

THE XIII. CHAPTER

Anthony. Cosyn, it were a long worke to peruse euery cōforte that a man maye well take of tribulacion. For as many cōfortes you wot wel may a man take therof, as ther be good cōmodities therin: and that be there surely so many, that it would be very long to rehearse and treate of them. But me semeth we cānnot lyghtly better perceyue what profit and commoditye, and therby what comforte they may take of it that haue it, then yf we well consider what harme the lacke is, and therby what discomfort the lacke therof should be to them that neuer haue it: So is it now that all holy men agree, and al the scripture is ful, and our own experience proueth at our iye, that we be not com into this wretched world to dwel here, nor haue not as s. Paul saith, our dwelling citi here: but we be seking for the citie that is to come, and therfore s. Paul sheweth vs that we do seke for it because he woulde put vs in minde yt we should seke for it, as they yt are good folk, and fain wold cōme thither to. For surely who so setteth so lyttle thereby that he lysteth not to seeke therefore: it wyll I feare me be lōng ere he come thereat, and merueylous great grace if euer he cōme thyther. *Sic currite,* saith s. Paul, *vt comprehendatis*, Run so yt you may get it. If it must then be gottēn with runnyng, when shall he com at it yt lyft not one step towardes it? Now because that thys world

is as I tell you not oure eternal dwelling, but oure lyttle whyle wandryng, God would that we shoulde in suche wyse vse it, as folke that were wearye of it, and that we should in this vale of laboure, toyle, teares and myserye, not looke for reste and ease, game, pleasure, wealthe and felicity. For they that so do, fare lyke a fonde felowe, that goyng towardes hys owne house, wher he should be wealthie, woulde for a tapsters pleasure become an hostler by the waye, and dye in a stable, and neuer come at home. And would God that those that drowne theym selfe in the desyre of thys worldes wretched wealth, were not yet more fooles then so. But alas theyr foly as farre passeth the foolyshenesse of that other fonde felowe, as there is diffance betwene the heught of heauen and the verye depthe of hell. For our Sauiour saieth: *Ve vobis qui ridetis nunc, quia lugebitis et flebitis;* Wo maye you be that laughe nowe, for you shal wayle and weepe. *Est tempus flendi,* (saythe the Scrypture) *et est tempus ridendi;* There is tyme of weepynge and there is tyme of laughing. But as you se, he setteth the weeping time before, for that is ye time of this wretched world and the laughynge tyme shall come after in heauen. Ther is also a tyme of sowyng, and a tyme of reapyng to. Nowe muste wee in thys worlde sowe, that we maye in the other worlde reap: and in thys short sowyng tyme of thys weepynge worlde, must we water our seede with the showers of our teares, and then shal we haue in heauen a merye laughing haruest for euer. *Euntes ibant et flebant* (sayth the Prophet) *mittentes semina sua;* They went foorth and sowed theyr seedes weepynge, but what saythe he shal folowe thereof. *Venientes autem venient cum exultacione portantes manipulos suos;* They shal come agayne more then laughynge, wyth great ioye and exultacion wyth theyr handfuls of corne in theyr handes. Lo, they that in theyr goynge home towardes heauen, sowe theyr seedes wyth weepynge, shall at the daye of iudgement come to theyr bodies again, with euerlasting plēnty full laughing. And for to proue that thys lyfe is no laughing tyme, but rather the time of weeping: we fynde that our sauioire hymselfe wepte twyse or thryse, but neuer finde we that he laughed so muche as once. I wyl not sweare that hee neuer dydde, but at the leaste wyse he left vs no ensample of it. But on the other syde, he left vs ensāmple of weeping. Of weeping haue we matter inough, bothe for our own synnes and for other folkes to: for sureli so shuld we do, bewail theyr wretched sines, and not be glad to detract thēm nor enuy thēm neither. Alas sely soules, what cause is there to enuy them that are euer

welthye in thys world, and euer out of tribulacion: whiche as Job sayth: *Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in pūncto ad inferna descendunt;* Lead al theyr dayes in welth, and in a moment of an houre descēnd into theyr graues and be paynfully buried in hel. Saint Paule saythe vnto the Hebrues that God (those that he loueth) he chastiseth. *Et flagellat omnem filium quem recipit;* And he scourgeth euery sōne of hys that he receiueth. Saint Paul sayth also. *Per multas tribulaciones oportet nos introire in regnum dei.* By many tribulacions must we go into the kingdome of God. And no maruail, for our sauior Christ sayde of himselfe vnto hys two disciples that were goyng into the castell of Emaus: *An neciehatis quia oportebat Christum pati et sic introire in regnum suum?* Know you not that Christ muste suffer and so go into hys kingdome? And woulde we that are seruantes looke for more priuiledge in our maisters house, thēn our master himself? Wold we get into his kingdome with ease, when he himself got not into hys owne but by payne? hys kyngdome hath he ordained for his disciples, and he saith vnto vs al. *Qui vult esse meus discipulus, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me;* Yf ani man wyl be my disciple, let him learne at me to doe as I haue done, take hys crosse of tribulacion vpon hys backe and folow me. He saith not here lo, let him laughe, and make mery. Now if heauēn serue but for Christes disciples, and they be those yt take theyr crosse of tribulacion: when shall these folke come ther that neuer haue tribulacion? And if it be true that Saynte Paul saith that God chastiseth al them that he loueth, and scourgeth euerye chylde whom he receiueth, and to heauēn shal none come, but such as he loueth and receyueth: when shal they thēn come thyther whōm he neuer chastiseth, nor neuer doth vouchesafe to fyle his handes vpon theym, nor gyue them so much as one lashe? And yf we can not (as saint Paule saith we can not) come to heauen, but by many tribulacions: how shal they come thither thēn, that neuer haue none at al? Thus see we wel by the very scripture it self, how tru the wordes are of old holy Saintes, that wyth one voyce in a maner saye all one thing, that is to wyt yt we shall not haue both continual wealth in thys worlde, and in the other to. And therfore, sythe they that in this world without any tribulacion enjoy theyr long continual course of neuer interrupted prosperitie, haue a greate cause of feare and of discomforde lest they be farre fallen out of Gods fauour, and stand depe in hys indignaciōn and displeasure, whyle he neuer sendeth them tribulaciōn, which he is euer wont to send them whom he loueth. Thei therfore I

say that are in tribulaciōn, haue on ye other side a great cause to take in their grieve great inward comfort and spyrytual consolacion.

¶ *A certaine obiection, and the answer thereto*

¶ THE XIII. CHAPTER

Vincent. Verylye, good vncle, thys seemeth so in dede: how be it yet me thinke that you say verye sore in some thynge concerninge suche persons as are in continual prosperity, and they be you wote wel not a fewe, and those are they also that haue the rule and authoritye of this world in theyr hānd. And I wotte wel, that when they talke wyth such great cunning men, as can I trow tel the truth: and when they aske them whyther (whyle they make mery here in earth al theyr lyfe) they maye not yet for al that haue heauen after to: they do tell them yes yes well inoughe. For I haue heard them tel them so my selfe.

¶ Anthony. I suppose good Cosyn that no very wyse man, and specially none that very good is therewyth wil tel any man fully of that fashion: but surely suche as so say to them, I feare me that they flatter them either for lucre or feare. Some of them think peraduenture thus. This man maketh much of me now, and geueth me money also to faste and watche and pray for him, but so I feare me would he do no more if I should go tel hym nowe that al that I do for hym wyll not serue hym, but if he goe faste and watche and praye for hymselfe to. For if I shoulde sette thereto, and saye father that my dilygēnt intercession for him, should I trust (be the meane) yt God shoulde the sooner geue him grace to amend, and fast and watch and pray, and take affliccion in his own body for the bettering of his sinful soul, he wold be wōnderous wroth wyth that. For he would be loth to haue any suche grace at al as should make him go leaue of any of hys mirth and so syt and mourne for hys synne. Such minde as thys lo, haue ther som of those that are not vnlearned and haue worldly wyt at wyll, whiche tell great men suche tales as perilouslye begyle them, rather then the flatterer that so telleth them wold with a true tale iepard to leese hys lucre. Some are there also that such tales tel them for consideracion of an other feare. For seeing the man so sore set on hys pleasure, that thei dispayre any amendment of him whatsoeuer they shoulde shewe hym, and then seeing also besyde

that the manne dothe no greate harme, but of a gentle nature doth some good men some good, they prai God them self to send him grace and so they let hym lye lame styl in hys fleshlye lustes. *Ad probaticam piscinam expectantes aque motum.* At the poole yt the gospell speaketh of besyde the temple wherin they washed ye shepe for the sacrifice and they tary to se the water stired, and when hys good Aungell coming frōm God shal once begyn to stire the water of hys hart, and moue hym to the lowly mekenes of a symple shepe than if he cal them to hym thei wil tel him an other tale, and helpe to beare hym and ploung hym into the poole of penaunce ouer the harde eares: but in the meane whyle for feare least when he would waxe neuer ye better, he would waxe much the wurste: and from gentle, smothe, swete, and curtise, waxe angry, rough, froward and sower and therupon be troublous and tedious to the world to make fayre weather wythal, they gyue him fayre woordes for the whyle, and put hym in good conforte, and let hym for the remnaunt stande at hys own aduenture. And in such wise deale they wyth him as the mother doth sometyme wyth her chyld: which when the litle boy wyl not ryse in tyme for her, but lye styl a bed and slugge, and when he is vp weepeth because he hath lien so long, fearyng to be beatēn at scoole for hys late cōmmyngh thither: she telleth hym then that it is but earely dayes, and he shal com time inough and biddeth hym go good sōnne I warrant the, I haue sent to thy mayster my self, take thy breade and butter wt thee, thou shalt not be beaten at al. And thus, so she may send him mery forth at ye dore that he weepe not in her sighte at home, she studieth not much vpon the matter though he be taken tardy and beaten when he cometh to scoole. Surely thus I feare me fare ther many freres and states chaplaynes to, in conforte geuing to greate men when thei be loth to displease them. I cannot cōmmend their thus doyng, but surely I feare me thus they do.

¶ *Other obieccions*

¶ **THE XV. CHAPITER**

¶ *Vincent*

BUT yet good vnkle, though yt some do thus, this answereth not ye ful matter: for we see that the whole church in the comon seruice vse dyuers collectes, in which al men pray specially for

the princes and the prelates, and generally euerye man for other and for hymself to, that God would vouchsafe to sēnd them al perpetual helth and prosperity. And I can se no good man pray God sēnd another sorow, nor no such prayers are ther put in ye prestes portes, as far as I can heare. And yet if it were as you saye good vncle, that perpetuall prosperytē wer to the soule so perilous, and tribulaciōn therto so fruitful, thēn wer as me semeth euery man bounden of charity not onely to pray God send theyr neighbour sorow, but also to helpe therto them selfe. And when folke are sycke, not pray God send them helth, but when they come to comfort thēm, they should saye: I am glad good gossep yt you be so sycke, I prai god kepe you long therin, and neither should any man gyue any medicine to an other, nor take any medicine himselfe neither: for by the minishing of the tribulacion, he taketh awaye part of the profyt from hys soule, which cān wyth no bodely profit be sufficiently recompensed. And also this wote you wel good vncle that we reade in holy scripture of men that were welthy and rych, and yet were good withal. Salomon was you wote wel the rychest and the most welthye kyng that anye man could in hys tyme tel of, and yet was he wel beloued wt God. Job was also no begger perdy, nor no wretch otherwise, nor lost his riches and his welth, for yt god wold not yt his friend should haue welth but for the shewe of hys paciēnce to thencrease of his merite and confusion of the diuel, and for prooife that prosperity may stānd with gods fauour: *Reddidit deus Job omnia duplicita.* God restored him double of all that euer he loste, and gauē hym after longe lyfe to take hys pleasure long. Abraham was eke you wotte well a manne of greate substaunce, and so contynued all hys lyfe in honoure and in wealthe: yea, and when he died to, he went vnto such welth that Lazarus which dyed in tribulacion and pouerti, the best place that he came to, was that ryche mans bosome. Finally good vncle thys we fynd at our iye, and euery day we proue it by playne experience, that manye a man is ryghte welthy and yet therewith righte good: and many a miserable wretche as euel as he is wretched. And therfore it semeth hard, good vncle, that betwene prosperitye and tribulacion the matter shoulde go thus, that tribulacion should be gyuen alway by God to those that he loueth for a signe of saluacion, and prosperity sēnt for displeasure, as a token of eternal dampnacion.

¶ The aunswere to the obieccions

¶ THE XVI. CHAPITER

Anthony. Either I said not, Cosyn, or els ment I not to say, that for an vndoubted rule, worldly prosperity wer alway displesant to God, or tribulacion euermore wholsom to euery man. For wel wote I that oure Lord geueth in thys worlde vnto eyther sort of folk, either sort of fortune, *et facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos.* He maketh hys Sunne to shyne both vpon the good and the bad, and hys raine both on the iust and on the vniust. And on the other syde, *Flagellat omnem filium quem recipit:* he scourgeth euerye sonne that he receiueth. And yet he beateth not onely good folke that he loueth, but *multa flagella peccatoris* to. Ther are many scourges for sinners also: he geueth euil folk good fortune in thys world, both to call them by kindnes, and if they therby come not the more is theyr vnkindnes: and yet wher welth wil not bryng them, he geueth them sometime sorow. And some that in prosperitie can not to God crepe forward, in tribulacion toward hym they runne a pace. *Multiplicate sunt infirmitates eorum postea accelerauerunt.* Their infirmities were multiplied (saith the Prophet) and after that they made haste. To some that are good men God sendeth welth here also, and they geue him great thanke for hys gyft, and he rewardeth theym for that thanke to. To some good folke he sendeth sorow, and they thanke him thereof to. If god shuld geue the goodes of thys world onelye to euyll folke, then woulde men wene that God were not the Lord thereof. If God woulde gyue the goodes onelye to good men, then woulde folke take occasion to serue hym but for theym. Some wyll in welth fal into foly. *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus estiumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis;* When man was in honour his vnderstanding failed him, then was he compared with beasts and made lyke vnto them. Some man wyth tribulacion wil fal into synne, and therefore saythe the prophet: *non relinquet dominus virgam peccato rum super sortem iustorum, vt non extendant iusti ad iniquitatem manus suas;* God wyll not leaue the rod of wicked men vpon the lot of ryghteous men, least the righteous peraduēture happe to extende and stretch out their handes to iniquity. So saye I not naye, but that in either state, welth or tribulacion maye be matter of vertue and matter of

vyce also: but this is the poynt lo, that standeth here in ques-
tyon betwene you and me: not whether euerye prosperity be a
perilous token, but whether cōtinual welth in this world without
any tribulacion be a feareful sygne of Gods indignacion. And
therefore this marke that we must shoote at, set vp wel in our
sight, we shal nowe meate for the shoote and consider how
neare toward, or how farre of, your arrowes are frōm the prik.

¶ *Vincent*. Some of my boltes, vncle, wyll I now take vp my
selfe, and pretely put thēm vnder my belt againe. For some of
them I see wel be not worth the meating, and no great maruayl,
though I shoote wide whyle I somewhat mystake the marke.
¶ *Anthony*. Those that make towarde the marke, and light
farre to short, whēn the shotte is mette, shal I take vp for you.

To proue that perpetuall wealthē should be no euil token you
say first that for princes and prelates and euery man for other,
we pray al for perpetuall prosperitie, and that in the comon
prayers of the churche to.

Then saye you secondlye that if prosperity were so perilous,
and tribulacion so profitable, euery man oughte then to pray
God to send other sorowe.

Thirdlye you furnysh your obieccions with ensamples of
Salomon, Job, and Abraham.

And fourthlye in the end of all, you proue by experiance of
oure owne tyme dayly before our face, that some welthye folke
are good, and some needye verye nought. That last bolte I
thinke so, that syth I say the same my selfe, you be content to
take vp, it lyeth so farre wyde. ¶ *Vincent*. That wyll I with a
good wyll vncle. ¶ *Anthony*. Wel, do so then Cosyn, and we
shall meate for the remanaunt. Fyrst must you Cosyn be sure
that you looke well to the marke, and that canne you not, but
yf you know what thynge trybulacion is. For sythe that is one
of the thynges that wee principallye speake of, but if you con-
sider well what that is, you may mys the marke again. I sup-
pose now that you wyll agree that tribulacion is euery such
thing as troubleth and greueth a man either in bodye or mynde,
and is as it were the prycke of a thorne a bramble or a bryer
thruste into hys flesh or into his mynde: and surely Cosyn, the
prycke that very sore pricketh the mynde as farre almost passeth
in payne the grieve that payneth the body, as doth a thorne that
styckyng in the harte passe, and exceede in payne, the thorne
that is thrust in the heele.

Nowe Cosyn, if trybulacion be thys that I cal it, then shal you
sone consider thys, that ther be mo kyndes of tribulacion, then

peraduenture you thought on before. And thereupon it foloweth also, that syth euery kynde of tribulacion is an interrupcion of welth and prosperity (which is but of welth, another name) maye be dyscontynued by mo wayes then you wold before haue went: Then say I thus vnto you Cosyn that sythe tribulacion is not onely such panges as pain the body, but eueri trouble also that greueth ye minde, many good men haue mani tribulacionis that eueri man marketh not, and consequentli theyr welth interrupted therwith whēn other men are not ware. For trowe you Cosyn that the temptacionis of the dyuel, the world, and the fleshe, solicytyng the mynde of a good man vnto synne, is not a great inward trouble and secret grieve to hys hart. To suche wretches as care not for theyr conscience, but lyke vnreasonable beastes folow theyr foule affeccions, manye of these temptacionis be no trouble at al, but matter of their bodyly pleasure. But vnto hym Cosyn that stāndeth in dread of God, ye tribulacion of tēmptacion is so payneful, that to be ryd therof or sure of the victory therin (be his substaunce neuer so great) he would gladly gyue more then halfe. Now if he that careth not for God thynk thys trouble but a trifle, and with such tribulacion prosperity not interrupted: let hym caste in hys mynde if hymselfe happe vpon a feruent longyng for the thyng whyche get he cān not (and as a good mān wyl not) as percase hys pleasure of some certayne good woman that wyl not be caught, and than let hym tell me whether the ruffle of hys desyre shal so torment hys mynde, as al the pleasures that he cān take beside, shal for lacke of that one, not please hym of a pynne. And I dare be bold to warraunt hym that the Payne in resisting, and the great feare of fallyng that manye a good mān hath in hys tēmptacion, is an anguish and a grieve euery deale as great as hys.

Now say I farther, Cosyn, that if this be true (as in very dede true it is) yt suche trouble is tribulacion, and therby consequently an interrupcion of prosperous welth: no man presisely meaneth to pray for other to keepe hym in continual prosperity wythout any maner of discontynuānce or chaūnge in thys world, for that prayer wythoute other condicion added or employed, were inordinate and wer veri chyldysh. For it were to pray that either they shoulde neuer haue temptacion, or els that if they had, they myght folow it and fulfyll theyr affeccion. Who dare good Cosyn for shame or for syn, or hymselfe or anye man els, make thys maner kynde of prayer? Besydes thys Cousyn the church ye wote wel aduyseth euerye man to fast to watche, and pray, bothe for tamig of his fleshly lustes, and also to

mourne and lament hys synne before cōmmitte and to bewayle his offence done against God, and as they dyd at the cytē of Niniue, and as ye prophet Dauid dyd for theyr synne put afflycōn to theyr fleshe, and when a man so dothe Cosyn, is thys no trybulacion to hym because he dothe it hymself? For I wote wel you woulde agree that it were, if an other man dyd it agaynst hys wyl. Then is tribulacyon, you wote wel tribulacion styl, thoughē it be takēn wel in worth: yea and thoughē it be taken to wyth very ryght good wyl, yet is Payne you wote wel paine, and therfore so is it though a man do it hymself. Then syth the church aduiseth eueri mān to take trybulacion for hys synne, whatsoeuer wordes you fynde in any prayer they neuer meane (you maye be fast and sure) to pray God to kepe euerie good mān nor euerie bad man neither, from euerie maner kynd of trybulaciōn. Now he yt is not in some kynd of tribulacion, as peraduenture in sykenes, or in losse of goods is not yet oute of tribulacion, if he haue his ease of body or of minde inquyeted and therbi his welth interrupted wt another kynd of tribulaciōn, as is either tēmpτaciōn to a good man, or voluntary afflyccyon eyther of body by penaunce, or of minde bi contricion and heauines for his sinne and offēnce against God. And thus I say that for precise perpetual welth and prosperitie in this worlde, that is to saye, for the perpetual lacke of al trouble and all tribulacion, there is no wyse man that either prayeth for hymself or for any mān els, and thus answer I your first obieccōn. Now before I medle wyth your secōnd, your third wyl I ioine to this. For vpon this aunswer, wyll the solucion of your ensamples conueniently depende. As for Salomon was as you say all hys daies a merueilous welthi king, and much was he beloued wyth God, I wote well in the beginning of his raigne: but that the fauoure of God perseuered hym, as hys prosperity did, that cān I not tel. And therfore wyl I not warrant it, but surely we se that his continual welth, made hym fal first into such wanton folye, in multiplyeng wyues to an horrible nomber, contrarye to the cōmmaundement of God, gyuen in the lawe of Moyses: and secondlye takinge to wyfe amonge other, such as were infidels contrarye to an other cōmmaundement of Gods wrytten lawe also, that fynaliye by the meane of hys miscreant wyfe, he fel into mayntenance of idolatry himself: and of this finde we no amendement or repentaunce, as we fynde of hys father. And therefore though he were buryed where his father was, yet whether he wēnt to the rest that his father dyd, throughe some secrete sorow for his syn at last, that is to saye, by some kynde of tribulacion, I cannot tel and am

content therfore to trust well, and pray God he dyd so, but surely we be not sure, and therfore thensample of Salomon can very little serue you, for you myghte as wel lay it for a proofe, that God fauoreth idolatry, as that he fauoreth prosperity: for Salomon was you wote wel in both. As for Job, sith our question hangeth vpon prosperity perpetual, ye welth of Job yt was with so great aduersity so sore interupted, can as your selfe seeth serue you for no ensample. And yt God gaue him here in this world all thynge double that he lost, little toucheth mi mater, which deni not prosperiti to be gods gyft, and giuen to som good men to: namely such as haue tribulacion to. But in Abraham Cosin I suppose is all youre chief holde, because that you not onelye shewe riches and prosperitie perpetuall in him, through ye course of al his whole life in this world, but that after his death also. Lazare that poore man that lyued in tribulacion, and died for pure hunger and thirst, had after his death his place of cōfōrt and rest in Abraham yt welthi rich māns bosome. But here must you cōsider that Abraham had not such continual prosperitie, but that it was discontinued wyth diuers tribulacions.

1. Was it nothing to him, trow you, to leaue his own country, and at Gods sending to go into a straunge land, whiche god promised him and his sede for euer? but in al his whole life he gaue hymselfe neuer a foote.

2. Was it no trouble, yt his cosin Loth and himselfe wer fain to part cōpany, because their seruāntes could not agree together?

3. Though he recouered Loth agayn frōm ye iii. kings, was his taking no trouble to him trowe you in ye meane while?

4. Was the destruccion of the fие cities no heauines to his hart? A mān wold wene yes, that readeth in the stori what labour he made to saue them.

5. His hart was I dare say in no litle sorow, whēn he was fain to let Abimelech ye king haue his wife, whōm(though god prouided to kepe vndefiled and turned al to welth) yet was it no litle wo to hym in the meane tyme.

6. What continuall grieve was it to his hart many a long day that he had no child of his owne body begotten? he that doubteth therof, shal finde it in Genesis of his owne mone made to God.

7. No man doubteth but Ismael was great comforte vnto hym at hys byrthe, and was it no grief then, when he muste cast out the mother and the chylde both?

8. Isaac yt was the child of promissiōn: although god kept his

life: yt was vnlooked for, yet while ye louing father bound him and went about to behead him, and offer him vp in sacrifice, who but himself can conceiue what heuines his hart had thēn? I wold wene in my mynde (because you speake of Lazar) yt Lazars own death pānged him not so sore. Thēn as Lazars pain was pacientli borne, so was Abrahams taken not onely paciēntly (but which is a thing much more meritorious) of obedience willingly. And therfore, though Abrahām had not as he dyd in dede far excel Lazar in merite of reward for mani other things beside, and speciallye for yt he was a special Patriarche of ye faith, yet had he far passed him, euen by the merite of tribulaciōn wel takēn here for Gods sake to. And so serueth for your purpose no man les then Abrahām. But nowe good cosyn, let vs looke a litle lenger here vpon the ryche Abraham and Lazare the poore, and as we shall see Lazare set in welthe some what vnder the ryche Abraham: so shal we se another ryche man lye full low beneath Lazare criyng and calling out of hys fyrye couche, yt Lazare might with a droppe of water falling from his fingers end, a litle coole and refresh the typpe of his burning tong. Cōsider well now what Abraham aunswere to the rich wretche. *Fili recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua et Lazarus similiter mala, nunc autem hic consolatur, tu vero cruciaris;* Sonne, remēmber that thou hast in thy life receiued welth, and Lazare in lykewyse paine, but nowe receiueth he comfort, and thou sorow, Payne and tormēnt. Christ describeth his welth and his prosperity, gay and soft apparel with royal delicate fare, cōtinually day by day. *Epulabatur* (sayth our sauour) *quotidie splendide*: He did fare royally eueri dai, hys welth was continual, lo no tyme of tribulacion betwene. And Abraham telleth hym the same tale that he had taken hys welth in thys worlde, and Lazarus lykewyse hys Payne, and that they had now chaunged echē to the cleane contrarye: poore Lazar from tribulacion into welth, and the ryche man from hys continual prosperity, into perpetual paine. Here was layde expresselye to Lazar no verye great vertue by name, nor to thys rych glotton no greate heynous cryme, but the taking of his continual ease and pleasure, wythoute anye tribulacion or grieve, wherof grew sloth and negligēnce to thynke vpon the poore mans Payne. For that euer hym selfe saw Lazarus and wanst him dye for hunger at his dore that layd neither Christ nor Abraham to his charge. And therfore Cosyn, thys storye lo of which bi occasion of Abraham and Lazar you put me in remembraūnce, wel declareth what peryll is in continuall worldly welth, and contrarywyse what

comfort cometh of tribulacion. And thus as your other examples of Salomon and Job nothing for the mater further you, so your ensample of rich Abraham and poore Lazarus haue not a lyttle hyndered you.

¶ *An answer to the second obiection*

¶ THE XVII. CHAPTER

¶ *Vincent*

SURELY vncle, you haue shaken myne ensamples sore, and haue in your meating of your shote remoued me these arrowes: me thinketh farther of fro the pricke then me thought they stack when I shot them. And I shal therfore now be content to take them vp agayn. But yet me semeth surely that my seconde shotte may stand. For of trouth if euery kynde of tribulacion be so profitable that it be good to haue it as you saye it is. I cānnot see wherfore ani man shuld either wish, or pray, or any maner of thinge dooe, to haue ani kinde of tribulacion withdrawēn eyther frōm himself, or anye friend of his. ¶ *Anthony*. I thinke in very dede tribulacion so good, and profitable, yt I shoulde happily doubt as you do: Wherfore a man myght labour or pray to be deliuered of it, sauing that God, whyche teacheth vs the one, teacheth vs also the other. And as he biddeth vs take our pain paciently, and exhorte our neigboures to do also the same: so byddeth he vs also not lette to do our deuour to remoue the Payne from vs bothe. And then when it is God that teacheth bothe, I shall not nede to breake my braine, in deuysyng wherfore he would bid vs to do both, the tone seming to resist the other. Yf he sēnd the scourge of scarcity and of greate famyne, he wil we shal beare it paciently: but yet wyl he that we shal eat our meat when we can happe to get it. Yf he sende vs the plague of pestilence, he wyl we shal paciently take it, but yet wyl he that we let vs bloud, and laye plaisters to drawe it, and ripe it, and launce it, and get it away. Bothe these pointes teacheth God in scripture, in mo then manye places. Fasting is better then eatyng, and more thanke hathe of God, and yet wyll God that we shal eate. Praying is better then drinkyng, and much more pleasaunt to God. And yet wyl God yt we shal drynk. Waking in good busines is much more acceptable to God then sleepyng, and yet

wyl God that we shal sleepe. God hathe geuen vs our bodyes here to kepe, and wyl that we maintaine them to doe hym seruice wyth, tyl he send for vs hence. Now can we not tel surely how much tribulacion may marre it, or peraduēture hurt the soule also: wherefore the Apostle, after that he had commaunded the Corinthians to deliuer to the dyuell the abhominable fornicator, that forbare not the bedde of hys owne fathers wyfe: yet after that he had beene a whyle accursed and punished for hys sinne, the Apostle commaunded theym charitablye to receyue hym agayne, and gyue hym consolaciōn. *ut non a magnitudine doloris absorbeatur*, that the greatnes of hys sorow shoulde not swalowe hym vp. And therefore when God sendeth the tempest, he wyl that the ship-mēn shal get them to theyr tacklyng, and doe the best they can for themselfe, that the Sea eate them not vp: for helpe our selues as wel as we canne, he can make his plage as sore and as long lasting as hymselfe lust. And as he wyl that we do for our selfe, so wyll he that we dooe for our neighbour to. And that we shall in this world be ech to other piteous, and not *Sine affectione* for which ye apostle rebuketh them yt lack their tēnder affeccions here, so that of charitie sorye should we be for theyr Payne to: vpon whome, for cause necessary, we be drieuen our selfe to put it. And whoso sayth that for pitie of hys neighbours soule he wyll haue none of his body, let hym be sure, that as saynt Jhōn saith: He that loueth not his neighbour whom he seeth, loueth God but a little whom he seeth not. So he that hath no pitie on the Payne that he seeth hys neyghbour feele afore hym, pitieith little (what so euer he saye) the Payne of hys soule that he seeth not yet: God sendeth vs also suche tribulacion sometyme, because his pleasure is, to haue vs pray vnto hym for helpe. And therefore, when saint Peter was in prieson, the scripture sheweth, that the whole churche wt out intermission prayed incessantelye for him: and at theyr feruent prayer god by miracle deliuered hym. Whan the disciples in the tempest stode in feare of drowning thei prayed vnto Christ and sayde: *Salua nos domine perimus*; Sae vs lord we perishe. And than at theyr prayer he shortly ceased the tempest. And now see we proued often that in sore weather or syckenes by generall processions God geueth gracious helpe. And many a man in his great Payne and syckenes by callyng vpon god is marueilouslye made whole. This is Goddes goodnesse that because in wealthe we remember hym not, but forfeat to pray to hym, sendeth vs sorow, and syckenes, to force vs to draw towarde hym, and

compelleth vs to cal vpon him and praye for release of oure payn: wherby when we learne to know hym and to seke to hym we take a good occasion to fal after into farther grace.

Of them that in tribulacion seke not vnto God, but some to the fleshe, and some to the worlde, and some to the deuylly hymself

¶ THE XVIII. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verelye good vncle, with this good answere I am wel content. ¶ *Anthony.* Yea cosyn, but manye menne are there with whom god is not cōntēnt, which abuse this gret high goodnes of his, whom neither faire treating nor harde handlyng can cause to remēber theyr maker, but in wealth they bee wanton and forgeate God, and folowe their lust: and whan God with tribulacion draweth them towarde hym, than ware they woode and drawe backe al yt euer they maye, and rather runne and seke helpe at any other hand than to go sette it at his. Some for comfort seke to the fleshe, some to the worlde, and some to the deuill himselfe. Some man that in worldly prosperitie is very dull, and hath depe stepped into many a sore sin, whiche synnes whēn he did them, he cōunted for part of his pleasure: god willing of his goodnesse to call the mān to grace: casteth a remorse into his mynd among after his first slepe, and maketh hym lie a lytle whyle and bethynke hym. Than begynneth he to remember his life, and from that he falleth to thynke vpon hys death, and howe he muste leaue al thys worldly wealth within a whyle behind here in this worlde, and walke hence alone, he wotteth not whyther, nor howe soone he shall take his iourney thither, nor can tell what coumpayne he shall mete there. And than begynneth he to thynke that it were good to make sure and to be mery, so that he be wyse therwith, lest there happe to be such black bugges in dede as folke call deuilles, whose tormentes he was wonte to take for Poetes tales. Those thoughtes if thei synke depe, are a sore tribulacion. And surely yf he take holde of the grace that God therin offereth hym, his tribulacion is wholesome, and shall bee ful comfortable to remember, that God by thys trybulacion calleth hym and biddeth hym come home out of the countrey of synne that he was bred and broughte vp so lōng in, and come into the lande of beheste yt floweth mylk and honey. And then if he folowe this calling (as manye one full well doeth) ioyfull shall his sorowe bee, and glad shall he be

to chaunge his life, leaue his wanton lustes, and do penaunce for hys sinnes, bestowyng his time vpōn better busines. But some men nowe whan this callyng of god causeth them to be sadde, they be lothe to leaue theyr synneful lustes that hange in their hertes, and specially if they haue any suche kynd of liuing as thei must nedes leaue of or fall deper in synne: or yf they haue done so many gret wronges yt thei haue many mēndes to make, that must (if they folowe god) minish much theyr money, thān are these folkes (alas) wofullye bee wrapped, for god pricketh vpōn thēm of hys great goodnesse styl and ye grief of thys great pange pyncheth them at the hert, and of wickednes thei wrie awaye and fro this tribulacion thei turne to theyr fleshe for helpe and laboure to shake of this thought, and then they mende their pillow and lay their head softer, and assay to slepe, and when that wil not be: than they finde a talke a while with thēm that lye by them. If that cannot be neyther, than they lye and long for day, and then geat them foorth about theyr worldlye wretchednes the mater of theyr prosperitie, the selfe same sinnefull thinges wt whiche thei displease God most, and at lengthe with manye times vsynge thys maner, God vtterly casteth them of. And then thei set nougħt neither by god nor deuil. *Pecator cum in profundum vener it, contemnit;* When the sinner commeth euen into the depth, than he contemneth and setteth nougħt by nothīng, sauing worldly feare that may fall by chance, or that needs must (thei wote well) fall once by death? But alas when death commeth, than commeth agayne their sorow, thān will no soft bed serue, nor no compayne make him mery, than must he leaue his outwarde worship and coumfort of his glorye, and lye pantyng in his bedde as it were on a pine bank, than commeth his feare of his euill life, and of his dreadful death. Than commeth the torment, his coumbred conscience and feare of his heauy iudgement. Than the deuyll draweth him to dispayre with imaginacion of hell, and suffreth hym not than to take it for a fable. And yet if he dooe, then fyndeth it the wretche no fable. Ah wo worthe the whyle that folke thynke not of this in time. God sendeth to some man great trouble in his minde, and great tribulacion about this worldly goodes because he wold of his goodnesse take his delite and his confidence from thēm. And yet the man withdraweth no parte of his fonde fantasies, but falleth more feruentlye to them then before, and setteth his whole heart like a foole, more vpon them: and than he taketh him all to the deuises of his worldly coūsailers and wt out any coūsnel of god or any trust putte in

him maketh many wise waies as he weneth and al turne at length vnto foli, and one subtil driftē driueth an other to nougħt. Some haue I sene euen in their last sicknes set vp in their death bed vnderprop̄ed with pillowis, take their plai fellowes to them and comfort themselfe with cardes and thys thei said dyd ease them well to put fantasies oue of theyr headeſ, and what fantasies trowe you, such as I tolde you right nowe of theyr owne lewd lyfe and peril of their soule, of heauen and of hell that yrked them to thinke of, and therefore cast it out wyth cardes play as long as euer they myght til the pure panges of death pulled their heart fro their play and put them in the case they coulde not recken theyr game. And then left them their gameners and sliſy slonke awaie, and long was it not ere they galped vp the ghoste. And what game they came than to, that God knoweth and not I. I pray god it wer good but I feare it verye sore. Some men are there also that doe (as dyd kyng Saule) in their tribulacion goe seke vnto the deuil. This kyng had commaunded all suche to be destroyed as vſe the false abhominable supersticion of this vngracious witcheſcraft and Nicromancie and yet fell he to ſuche foly afterwarde hym ſelfe yt ere he went to battayle he ſought vnto a wiche, and besought her to rayſe vp a dead man to tell hym howe he ſhoulde ſpede. Nowe had God shewed hym by Samuell before that he ſhould come to nougħt, and he wente about none amēndement, but waxed worse and worse, ſo that god lust not to loke to hym: and when he ſought by the Prophete to haue aunſwere of god, there came none aunſwer to him, which thing he thought ſtrāūnge and because he was not with god heard at his pleasure, he made ſuite to the deuil, desyring a woman by witcheſcraft, to rayſe vp dead Samuel: but ſpede had he ſuch therof, as commenly they haue al yt in their busines medle wt ſuche matters. For an euil answer had he, and an euil ſpede therafter, his army diſcomfited, and himſelf slain. And as it is rehearsed in Pacalipomenon ye x. chapiter of ye first boke, one cause of his fall was for lack of truſt in god, for whiche he left to take counſaile of god, and fel to ſeke counſaile of the witch againſte gods prohibicion in ye lawe, and againſt his own good dede, by which he puniſhed and put out all wytches ſo late afore. Suche ſpede let them loke for yt play ye ſame part as I ſe many dooe that in a great losſe ſende to ſeke a conniſurer to geat theyr geare agayne: and meruaylous thynges there they ſee ſomtime, but neuer grete of their good. And manye fonde foolis are there, that whēn thei lie ſick, wil medle with no phisick in no maner wyſe,

nor sēnd hys water to no cunning man, but sēnd his cap or his hose to a wise woman, otherwyse called a witche. Then sendeth she word again yt she hath spyeid in his hose, wher when he tooke no heede, he was taken wyth a sprite betwene two dores as he went in the twylight. But the spirite would not let him fele it in fiue dayes after: and it hath al the whyle festred in his bodye, and yt is the grieve that payneth hym so sore, but let hym go to no leache craft, nor any maner phisick, other then good meat and stronge drynke, for sirops shold sowce him vp. But he shal haue fiue leaues of valeriane that she enchaunted wyth a charme, and gathered wt her left hande: let him lay those fiue leaues to his right thombe, not binde it faste to, but lette it hang lose thereat by a greene threde: he shal neuer nede to chaunge it, loke it fal not away, but let it hang til he be whole and he shall nede no more. In such wyse witches and in such madde medycynes haue there manye fooles more fayth a great deale than in god. And thus cosin as I tell you, all these kynde of folke that in their tribulacion cal not vpon God, but seke for theyr ease and helpe otherwhere, to the fleshe and the worlde, and to the flingynge fiende. The trybulacion that Goddes goodnesse sendeth them for good, themself by their foly turne into their harme. And thei that on the other side seeke vnto god therein, both conforte and profite they greatlye take thereby.

¶ *An other obieccōn with the answer thervnto*

¶ THE XIX. CHAPITER

Vyncent. I like well, good vnkle, all your aunsweres herein: but one doubt yet remaineth there in my mind which riseth vpōn this answer yt you make, and that doubt soyled, I wyll as for this tyme myne owne good vnkle, encoumber you no farther. For me thynke I dooe you verye muche wronge to geue you occasyon to laboure youre selfe so muche in matter of some study, wyth longe talkynge at once. I wyll therfore at thys tyme moue you but one thing, and seke some other tyme at your more ease for the remenaunte. My doubt, good vnkle, is thys. I perceyue well by youre aunsweres gathered and con-sydered together, that you wyll wel agree that a manne maye bothe haue worldlye wealth, and yet well goe to God. And that on the other syde, a man maye bee myserable and lyue in trybulacyon, and yet goe to the deuyll. And as a manne may

please god by pacience in aduersitie, so maye he please God by thankes geuen in prosperitie. Now sith you graunte these thynges to bee suche, that eyther of them bothe maye be matter of vertue, or elles matter of synne, matter of damnacion, or matter of saluacion: they seme neyther good nor bad of their own nature, but thynges of thēmselfe, equall and indifferente, turnynge to good, or the contrarye after as they bee taken. And than if thys bee thus, I canne perceiue no cause why you shold geue the preemynence vnto tribulaciōn, or wherefore you shoulde recken more cause of coumforte therein then you shoulde recken to stande in prosperitye, but rather a greate deale lesse, by in a maner halfe. Sythe that in prosperitye ye man is wel at ease and maye also by geuing thanke to god, geat good vnto hys soule, where as in tribulacion, thoughe he may merite by pacience (as in aboūndance of worldly wealth the other may buy thanke.) Yet lacketh he muche coumforte that the wealthye manne hath, in that he sore is grieued wyth heauynesse and paine: besydes thys also, yt a wealthye manne well at ease maye praye to God quyetely and merelye with alacritye and greate quietenesse of mynde, where as he that lyeth gronyng in hys grieve cannot endure to pray nor thynk almoste vpon nothynge, but vpon hys Payne. ¶ *Anthony.* To begynne, cosyn, wher you leauie, the prayers of hym that is in wealthe, and hym that is in woe, if the menne be bothe noughe, their prayers bee bothe lyke. For neyther hath the one lust to praye nor the other neyther. And as yt one is let with his pain, so is the tother with his pleasure, sauing yt the pain styreth hym somtime to cal vpon god in his grief, though yt man be right badde, where the pleasure pulleth hys mynde another waye, thoughe the manne bee meetelye good. And thys poynte I thynke there are fewe that canne (yf they saye trewe) saye that they fynde it otherwyse. For in tribulacion, which commeth you wote well in manye sundrye kyndes, anye manne that is not a dull beaste or a desperate wretche, calleth vpon God, not houerly, but ryght heartelye: and setteth hys hearte full whole vpon hys requeste, so sore hee longeth for ease and helpe of hys heauynesse. But when menne are wealthye and well at theyr ease, whyle our tong pattereth vpon oure prayers a pace, good God howe manye madde wayes oure mynde wandereth the whyle. Yet wote I well, that in some trybulacyon suche sore sickenesse there is, or other grieuous bodylye Payne, that harde it were for a manne to saye a longe prayer of Mattens, and yet somme that lie a diynge saye full deuoutelye the Seuen Psalmes and other

prayers wyth the Prieste at theyr anneylinge, but those that for the grieve of their Payne canne not endure to dooe it, or that bee more tender and lacke that stronge heart and stomacke that some other haue, God requireth no suche longe prayers of them, but the lyftinge vp of theyr heart alone withoute any woorde at all, is more acceptable to him of one in such case, than longe seruice so saide as folke vse to say it in health. The Martyrs in theyr agonye, made no longe prayers aloude, but one ynche of suche a prayer so prayed in that Payne, was worthe a whole elle and more, euen of theyr owne prayers prayed at some other tyme. Great learned menne saye that Christe, al bee it he was verye God, and as God was in eternall equall blisse wt his father, yet as man merited not for vs only, but for him selfe too. For prooфе whereof they laye in these wordes the authoritie of S. Paul: *Christus humiliauit semetipsum factus obediens vsque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis Propter quod et deus exaltauit illum et donauit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, vt in nomine Iesu omne genuflectatur celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quia dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est dei patris.* Christ hath humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, and that vnto the death of the crosse, for whiche thinge God hath also exalted hym, and geuen hym a name whiche is aboue all names: that in the name of Jesus euery knee bee bowed, bothe of the celestyall creatures and the terrestryall, and of the infernall too: and that euerye tonge shal confesse that our lord Jesus Christ is in the glorye of god his father. Now if it so be as these great learned men vpon such authorities of holye scripture say, that our sauour so merited as man, and as man deserued reward not for vs only, but for himself also: than wer ther in his dedes as it semeth, sundry degrees and differences of deseruyng, and not his maundye lyke meryte as hys passyon, nor his slepe like merit as his watch and hys prayer, no nor his prayers paraduenture all of lyke meryte neyther. But thoughe there none was, nor none coulde bee in his moste blessed parsone but excellente, and incomparablye passinge the prayer of anye pure creature: yet his owne not all alyke, but somme one farre aboue somme other. And than if it thus bee, of all hys holye prayers, the chyefe semeth me those that he made in his greate agonye and Payne of hys bitter Passion. The fyrst, whēn he thrise fell prostrate in his agonie, whan the heauiness of his hearte with feare of death at hande, so paynfull and so cruell as he wel behelde it, made such a feruente commocion in his blessed bodye, that the bloudye

sweate of his holy flesh dropped downe on the grounde. The other were the painefull praiers that hee made vpon the crosse, wheere for al the tormente that he hanged in, of beating, nailinge, and stretching out al his limmes, with the wrestynge of his sinewes and breaking of his tender vaines, and the sharpe crowne of thorne so pricking him into the head, that his blessed bloud stremed downe all his face. In all these hideous paines, in all theyr cruell despites, yet two very deuoute and feruent praiers he made. The one for theyr pardon that so dispiteously put hym to hys payne, and the other about his own deliuerance, commanding his own soul vnto his holye father in heauen. These praiers of his, amonge all that euer hee made, made in his moste paine, reckon I for the chief. And these prayers of our Sauiour at his bitter Passion, and of his holye Martirs, in the feruoure of theyr torment, shall serue vs to see that there is no praiers made at pleasure so strōng and effectual, as in tribulaciōn. Now come I to the touching of the reasōn you make: where you tel me that I graunte you, that both in wealth and in wo som man may be nought and offend god, the one by impaciēnce, ye other by fleshly lust. And on ye other side, both in tribulacion and prosperity to, sōme mān may also do very well, and deserue thanke of god by thānkes geuen to god, as wel of his gift of riches worship and wealth, as of nede and penurye, prisonment, sicknes and payn, and that therfore you cānnot se, for what cause I shold geue any preeminence in comfort vnto tribulaciōn, but rather allow prosperity for the thyng more coumfortable, and yt not a little, but in maner by double, syth therein hath the soule comfort and the body bothe, the soule by thanke geuen vnto god for his gift, and then the body by beyng well at ease: where the parsōn payned in tribulacion, taketh no coumfort but in his soule alone. First as for your double cōfōrt cosyn, you may cut of the tone. For a man in prosperitie, though he be bounde to thanke god, of hys gift, wherein he feleth ease, and may be glad also that he geueth thanke to God: yet for that he taketh his ease here, hath he litle cause of coumfort, excepte that the sensuall felyng of bodely pleasure, you lust for to call by the name of coumfort. Nor I saye not naye, but that sometime menne vse so to take it, when they saye, this good drinke coumforteth wel mine hearte. But coumforte, Cosyn, is properly taken by them that take it ryghte, rather for the consolacion of good hope that men take in their heart, of sōme good growing towarde them, then for a presente pleasure, with which the bodye is delited and tickeled for the whyle.

Nowe though a manne without pacience can haue no reward for his pain yet when his pain is paciently takēn for goddes sake, and his wyll conformed to gods pleasure therin, god rewardeth the sufferer after the rate of his payne, and this thynge appeareth by manye a place in scripture, of whiche some haue I shewed you, and yet shal I shewe you moe. But neuer founde I anye place in scripture that I remember, in whiche though the welthye manne thanke God for his gift, our lorde promised anye rewarde in heauen, because the man toke his ease and his pleasure here. And therfore syth I speake but of such coumfort as is very coumfort in dede, by which a man hath hope of goddes fauour, and remission of his sinnes, with minishynge of his payne in purgatory, or rewarde els in heauen. And suchē coumforte cometh of tribulacion, and for tribulacion wel taken, but not for pleasure though it be wel taken, therefore of your coumforte that you double by prosperitie, you mai as I tolde you cutte verye well awaye the halfe. Nowe why I geue prerogatiue in coumfort vnto tribulacion farre aboue prosperitie thoughē a man maye dooe well in bothe, of thys thynge wyll I shewe you causes two or three. Fyrste as I before haue at lengthe shewed you oute of all question, continuall wealthe interrupted with no tribulacion, is a verye discomfortable token of euerlasting damnacion, whereupon it foloweth that trybulacion is one cause of cōfōrt vnto a mannes heart, in that it dischargeth hym of the dyscomfort that he myghte of reason take of ouerlonge lasting wealthe. Another is, that ye scripture muche commendeth tribulaciōn as occasion of more profite then wealthe and prosperitie, not to them onelye that are therein, but to them too that resort vnto them, and therefore sayth Ecclesiastes: *Melius estire ad domum luctus, quam ad domum conuiuii in illa enim finis cuncrorū admonetur hominū, et viuens cogitat quid futurū sit;* Better is it to gooe to the house of wepynge and waylynge for some mannes death, than to ye house of a feast. For in that house of heauines is a manne put in remembraunce of the ende of euery manne, and while he yet liueth, he thynketh what shall come after. And after yet he farther sayth: *Cor sapientium vbi tristitia est, et cor stultorū vbi leticia;* The hearte of wise menne is there as heauinesse is. And the hert of fooles, is ther as is mirth and gladnes. And verily, there as you shall heare worldly myrthe seme to be commended in scrypture, it is eyther commonlye spoken, as in the parsōn of some worldly dysposed people, or vnderstanden of reioysyng spiritual, or ment of some smal moderate refreshing of the minde agaynst an heauy

discomfortable dulnes. Now whereas prosperitie was to the childrēn of Israel promised in the olde lawe: as a speciall gift of God, that was for their imperfeccion at that tyme to drawe them to God, wyth gay thynges and pleasant, as menne to make children learne, geue them cake bread and butter. For as the scripture maketh mencion, that people wer much after the maner of children in lacke of wit, and in waiwardnes. And therefore was their maister Moises called *Pedagogus*, that is, a teacher of children, (or as they call suche one in the grammer scoles) an vsher or a mayster of the petytes. For as saynt Paule sayth: *Nibil ad perfectum duxit lex*, The olde lawe broughte nothing vnto perfeccion. And God also threateneth folke with trybulacion in thys worlde for syn, not for that worldlye trybulacion is euyll, but for that we shoulde be well ware of the syckenesse of synne, for feare of that thinge to folowe, whiche thoughē it bee in deede a verye good wholesome thyng yf we wel take it, is yet because it is payneful, the thyng that we be loth to haue. But this I say yet againe and againe, that as for farre the better thyng in this worlde towarde the getting of the very good that God geueth in the worlde to come, the scripture vndoubtedly so commendeth trybulacion, that in respect and comparison thereof, it dyscommendeth thys worldlye wretched wealth and uncomfortable coumfort vtterly. For to what other thyng soundeth the wordes of Ecclesiastes that I rehearsed you nowe? yt it is better to bee in the house of heauynesse, than to bee at a feast: wherto soundeth this comparison of his, that the wyse mannes hearte draweth thyther as folke are in sadnessse: and the heart of a foole, is there as he may fynde myrthe? Whereto draweth this threat of ye wyse manne, that he that deliteth in wealthe shall fall into woe? *Risus* (sayeth he) *dolore miscebitur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat*; Laughter shall be myngled with sorowe, and th' ende of myrth is taken vp with heauinessse. And our sauour sayeth hymselfe: *Ve vobis qui redetis, quia lugebitis et flebitis*; Wo be to you that laugh, for you shall weepe and wayl. But he saith on the other side: *Beati qui lugent, quoniam illi consolabuntur*; Blessed are they that weepe and waile, for they shall bee coumforted. And he sayeth to his disciples: *Mundus gaudebit, vos autem dolebitis sed tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium*; The worlde shall ioye and you shall be sory: but your sorow shal be turned into ioy. And so is it you wote wel now. And the myrthe of manye that then were in ioy, is nowe turned all to sorowe. And thus you see by ye scripture playne, that in matter of very coumforte,

tribulacion is as farre aboue prosperitie, as the day is aboue the night. An other preeminēce of tribulacion ouer wealth in occasion of merite and rewarde, shal wel appere vpon certain consideracions wel marked in them bothe. Tribulacion meriteth in pacience, and in th' obedient conformyng of ye mans will vnto god, and in thankes geuen to god for his visitacion, if you reckon me now against these, manye other good dedes that a wealthy man may do: as by riches geue almose, by authoritie, labour in doyng manye menne iustice, or yf you fynd farther any suche other thyng lyke. First I say that the paciente parson in tribulacyon, hath in all these vertues of a wealthye manne, an occasion of meryte too, whiche the wealthye manne hath not agayneward, in the forerehersed vertues of his. For it is easy for the parson that is in trybulacion, to bee well wyllyng to doe the self same yf he coulde, and thān shall his good wyll, where the power lacketh, goe very nere to the merite of ye dede. But nowe is not the wealthy man in a like case with the will of pacience and cōformitye and thankes geuen to God for tribulacion, sythe it is not so readye for the wealthye manne to bee contente to be in the tribulacion, that is the occasion of the pacientes deserfe, as for the troubled parson to bee content to be in prosperitie, to doe the good dedes that ye wealthye manne dothe. Besides this, al that the wealthye manne doth, though he coulde not do them without those thinges that are accompted for wealth, and called by that name, as not dooe great almose without greate riches, nor dooe these many menne ryght by his labour, without great authoritie. Yet may he do these thynges beyng not in wealthe in dede: as where he taketh his wealth for no wealth, nor his riches for no riches, nor in hearte setteth by neyther nother, but secretelie liueth in a contrite hearte and a life penitenciall, as manye times dyd the Prophete Dauid being a great kyng, so that worldlye wealthe was no wealthe to hym. And therefore is not of necessitie worldlye wealthe the cause of those good dedes, sythe he may do them, and dothe them best in dede, to whom ye thyng that worldlye folke call wealth, is yet for his godly sette mynd, drawne fro the delite thereof, no pleasure in maner nor no wealthe at all. Finally, whansoeuer the wealthye man dothe those good vertuous dedes, yf wee consider the nature of them ryght, we shall perceyue yt in the doyng of them, he dothe euer for yt rate and porcion of those dedes, minysh the matter of his worldlie wealth, as in geuing great almose he departeth wyth so muche of his worldly goodes, whiche are in that part ye matter of his wealth.

In labouryng about the doyng many good dedes, his labor minysheth his quiete and his reste. And for the rate of so muche, it minysheth hys wealth, yf payne and wealthe bee eche to other cōtrarye, as I wene you wyll agree they bee.

Now whosoeuer than wyl wel consider the thyng, he shall I doubt not perceyue and see therein, that in these good deedes that the wealthye manne dothe, though he doth them by that, that hys wealth maketh hym able, yet in ye doing of them, he departeth for the porcion from the nature of wealthe, toward the nature of some part of tribulacion, and therefore euen in those good dedes them self that prosperitie doth: doth in goodnes the prerogatiue of trybulacion aboue wealthe appeare. Nowe yf it happe that somme manne cannot perceyue thys poynte because the wealthye manne for all his almose abydeth ryche styll, and for al his good labour abideth styll in his authoritie, let hym consyder that I speake but after the porcion. And because the porcion of al that he geueth of his goodes, is very lyttle in respect of that he leaueth: therefore is the reason happily with some folk lytle perceiued.

But yf it so were that he went foorth with geuyng tyll he hadde geuen oute all and lefte hymselfe nothynge, than woulde a verye blynde manne see it. For as he were from riches come to pouertie, so were he from wealth, willingly fallen into trybulacion: and betwene laboure and reste, the reason goeth all alyke: whiche whoso canne consider, shal see that for the porcion in euerye good dede done by the wealthye manne, the matter is all one. Than sythe wee haue somewhat wayed the vertues of prosperitie, lette vs consider on the other syde the afore named thynges that are ye matter of meryte and rewarde in trybulacion, that is to witte, pacience conformytye and thankes. Pacyence the welthye manne hath not, in that that he is welthye. For yf he bee pinched in any point wherein he taketh pacyence, in ye parte he suffereth somme trybulacion, and so not by his prosperitie, but by his trybulacion hath the manne that meryte. Lyke is it if we would saye, that ye welthye manne hath another vertue in the stede of pacyence, that is to witte, the kepyng of hymselfe from pryd, and suche other synnes as wealthe woulde bryng hym too. For the resystyng of suche mocions, is as I before tolde you, withoute anye doubt, a minyshyng of fleshlye wealthe, and is a verye trew kynde, and one of the moste profitable kyndes of trybulacion: so that al that good meryte groweth to the wealthye manne not by his wealthe, but by the mynishing of his wealthe

with wholesome trybulacion. The moste couloure of comparison is in the other twayne: that is to wytte, in the conformitye of mannes wyll vnto God, and in thanks geuen vnto God. For lyke as the good mā in trybulaciōn sent hym by god, conformeth his wyll to Goddes wil in that behalfe, and geueth God thanke therefore, so dothe the wealthy manne in his wealthe whiche God geueth hym, conforme hys wyll to Goddes in that poynte: sythe he is well contente to take it of his gyfte, and geueth God agayne also ryght hearty thanke therfore. And thus as I sayde, in these two thynges maye you catche the moste colour to compare the wealthye mannes meryte with the merite of tribulacion. But yet that they bee not matches, you maye soone see by this. For in tribulacion cān there none conforme his wyl vnto gods and geue hym thanke therfore, but such a manne as hath in that poynte a verye speciall good mynde. But he that is verye nought, or hath in his heart but very little good, maye well bee contente to take wealthe at Goddes hande, and say mary I thanke you sir for this with all my heart, and wyl not fayle to loue you well whyle you lette me fare no worse. *Confitebitur tibi, quum benefeceris ei.* Nowe if the wealthy manne be very good, yet in conformitie of his wyll and thankes geuen to god for his wealth, his vertue is not like yet to his that dothe the same in tribulacion. For as the philosophers sayd in that thyng very well of olde, vertue standeth in thinges of hardnes and difficultie. And than as I tolde you, much lesse hardnes and lesse difficultie there is by a great deale to bee content and to cōforme our wyll to goddes wyll, and to geue hym thanke to for oure ease, than for our Payne, for our wealthe, than for oure woe. And therefore is the conformyng of oure wyll vnto goddes, and ye thankes that we geue him for our tribulaciōn, more worthy thank again, and more rewarde meriteth in the very fast welth and felicitie of heauen, than our conformitie with oure thankes geuen for and in our worldly wealthe here. And thys thinge sawe the deuill whan he sayde to oure Lorde of Job, that it was no meruaile though Job hadde a reuerente feare vnto God, God had done so much for hym, and kepte hym in prosperitie, but the deuyll wyst well it was an hard thinge for Job to bee so louynge, and so to geue thankes to God in trybulacion and aduersitye, and therefore was he gladde to geat leaue of God to put hym in trybulacion, and thereby trusted to cause hym murmure and grudge againste God with impacience. But the Deuyll had there a fall in his owne turne. For the pacyence of Job in the short time of his aduersitie, gate hym muche more

fauoure and thanke of God, and more is hee renonumed and comended in scripture for that, than for all the goodnes of his long prosperous life. Our sauioure sayth hymselfe also, that if we saye well by them, or yelde them thanke that dooe vs good, we doe no great thyng therein and therefore can we with reason looke for no great thanke againe. And thus haue I shewed you loe, no litle preemynence that tribulacion hath in meryte, and therefore no litle preemynence of cōfōrt in hope of heuenly reward aboue ye vertues (the merite and cause of good hope and coumforte) that commeth of welthe and prosperitie.

¶ *A summarye commendacion of tribulacion*

¶ THE XX. CHAPITER

AND therefore good Cosyn, to finyshe our talkynge for this time, lest I should be to lōng a let vnto your other busines if we lai first for a sure grounde a very faste faythe, whereby we beleue to be true al that the scripture saythe vnderstanden truelye, as the olde holy doctours declare it, and as the spirite of God instructeth his catholike churche: than shall we consider tribulacion as a gracious gifte of god, a gift that he speciallye gaue his specyall frendes. The thyng that in scripture is highly comended and praised, a thing wherof the contrary long contynued is perilous, a thyng whiche but if god sēnd it, men haue nedē by penance to put vpon themselfe and seke it, a thynge that helpeth to pourge oure synnes passed, a thynge that preserueth vs fro synnes that els would come, a thyng that causeth vs to set lesse by the worlde, a thyng that exciteth vs to drawe more towarde God, a thing that muche minisheth our paynes in purgatorye, a thynge that muche encreaseth our finall reward in heauen, the thynge by whiche our sauioure entred his owne kyngdome, the thynge with whiche all his apostles folowed hym thyther, the thynge whych our sauiour exhorteth all menne to, the thyng without whiche he sayeth we bee not his disciples, the thyng wtout which no manne can geat to heauen. Whoso these thinges thinketh on, and remembreth well, shall in his trybulacion neither murmure nor grudge, but fyrst by pacience take his Payne in worthe, and than shall he growe in goodnes and thynk hymselfe well worthye, than shal he cōsider that god sendeth it for hys weale, and thereby shall hee bee moued to geue God thanke therefore, therewith shall his grace encrease,

and God shall geue hym such conforte by consideryng that god is in his trouble euermore nere vnto him. *Quia deus iuxta estiis qui tribulato sunt corde.* God is nere saith the Prophete to them hat haue their hearte in trouble, yt hys ioye thereof shall minyshe muche of hys payne, and he shall not seke for vayn cōforte els where, but speciallye truste in god, and seke for helpe of him, submytting his owne wyll wholy to gods pleasure, and praye to god in his heart, and praye his frendes praye for hym, and speciallye the priestes as saint James byddeth, and begynne fyrste with confessiōn and make vs cleane to god, and ready to departe, and be gladde to go to god puttyn purgatorie to his pleasure: yf wee thus doe, this dare I boldelye saye, wee shall neuer liue here the lesse of halfe an houre, but shal with this conforte fynd our heartes lighted, and thereby ye grief of our tribulacion lessed, and the more likelyhoode to recouer and to liue ye lenger. Now if god wil we shal hence, than dothe he muche more for vs. For he that this way taketh, cannot go but wel. For of hym that is lothe to leaue thys wretched worlde, myne hart is much in feare lest he dye not wel: harde it is for him to be welcome that cometh against his wil, that saith vnto god whān he commeth to fetche him, welcome my maker magry my teeth: but he that so loueth hym, that he longeth to goe to hym, my heart cannot geue me but he shalbe welcom, al wer it so that he should come ere he wer wel pourged. For charitie couereth a multitude of sinnes, and he that trusteth in god cannot bee confounded. And Christe sayeth, he that commeth to me I wyll not cast hym out. And therefore let vs neuer make our reckening of long life, kepe it while we maye because god hath so comaunded: but if god geue thoccasion, that with his good wyll we may goe: let vs be glad therof, and long to goe to him. And than shall hope of heauen coumfort our heauines, and out of our transitorie tribulacion shall wee goe to euerlastyng glorye, to which my good Cosyn I pray god bryng vs both.

¶ *Vyncent.* Mine owne good vncle, I praye god reward you, and at this time wil I no lenger trouble you. I trowe I haue thys daye done you muche trybulacion with my importune obieccions, of very little substaunce. And you haue euen shewed me an ensaumple of sufferaunce, in bearing my foly so long and so paciently. And yet shall I be so bolde vpon you farther, as to seke somtyme to talke furth of the remenaunt the moste profitable poynte of tribulacion, which you sayde you reserued to treate of laste of al. ¶ *Anthony.* Lette that be

hardely, verye shortelye, Cosyn, whyle thys is freshe in mynde.

¶ *Vyncent*. I truste good Vnkle so to putte this in remembraunce, that it shal neuer bee forgotten with me. Our lorde sende you suche coumforte as he knoweth to be beste.

¶ *Anthony*. That is wel sayde good Cosyn, and I pray the same for you and for all oure other frendes yt haue nede of coumforte, for whome I think more thān for your self, you neded of some counsayle. ¶ *Vyncent*. I shal with this good counsayle that I haue hearde of you, doe them some coumfort I trust in god, to whose kepyng I commit you. ¶ *Anthony*. And I you also. Fare well, myne owne good Cosyn.

THE II. BOKE

Vyncent. It is to me, good Vnkle, no litle coumforte, that as I came in here, I hearde of youre folk, that you haue hadde since my last beyng here (God bethanked) meetelye good reste and youre stomache somwhat more comme to you. For verelye albeit I hadde hearde before that in respecte of the greate grieve that for a moneth space hadde holden you, you were, a lyttle beefore my laste comminge to you, sommewhate eased and releued, for elles woulde I not for no good haue putte you to the Payne to talke so muche as you than dydde: yet after my departinge from you, remembryng howe longe wee taried together, and that we were all that whyle in talkynge and all the laboure youers, in talkynge so longe together withoute enterpausyng betwene, and that of matter studiouse and displeaunte, all of dysease and sickenesse, and other Payne and trybulacion: I was in good fayth verye sory, and not a lyttle wrothe with my self for myne owne ouersighte, that I hadde so lyttle considered your Payne, and very fearde I was, tyll I heard other worde, leste you shoulde haue waxed weaker, and more sicke thereafter. But nowe I thank our lord, yt hath sent the contrarye, for elles a litle castyng backe, wer in this greate age of yours, no litle daunger and peryll.

¶ *Anthony.* Naye naye, good Cosyn, to talke muche (excepte somme other payn lette me) is to me litle grieve. A fonde olde manne is often as full of woordes as a woman. It is, you wote wel, as sōme Poetes paynte vs, all the lust of an olde fooles life, to sitte wel and warme with a cuppe and a rosted crabbe, and driuil, and drinke and talke. But in earnest cosin, oure talking was to me great comforte, and nothing displeaunte at all. For thoughe wee commoned of sorowe and heauinessse, yet was the thyng that we chiefly thoughte vpon, not the trybulacion it selfe, but the coumforte that may growe thereon. And therefore am I nowe verye gladde, that you be come to finishe vp the remenaunt.

¶ *Vincent.* Of trouth, my good vnkle, it was comfortable to mee, and hath been since to some other of your frendes, too whome as my poore witte and remembraunce would serue me,

I did, and not nededes, reporte and rehearse your most comfortable counsayle. And now come I for the remenaunt, and am verye ioyfull that I fynde you so wel refreshed, and so redy therto. But this one thyng good vncle, I beseche you heartily, yt if I for delyght to here you speake in the mater forgeate my selfe and you bothe, and put you to too much paine, remēber you youre owne ease, and when you luste to leaue, commaunde me to goe my waye, and seke some other time.

¶ *Anthony.* Forsoth Cosyn, manye woordes, yf a manne were very weake, spoken, as you said right nowe without enterpausing, woulde paradynture at length somewhat weerye hym. And therefore wysshed I the last time after you wer gone, when I felt my selfe (to say the trueth,) euen a litle very, that I had not so tolde you still a long tale alone, but that wee hadde more often enterchanged words, and parted the talkyng betwene vs, with ofter enterparlyng vpon your parte in suche maner, as learned menne vse, beetwene the parsones whom they deuyse, disputing in their fayned dialogues. But yet in that poynte, I soone excused you, and layde the lacke euen where I found it, and that was euen vpon mine owne necke. For I remembred that betwen you and me it fared, as it did once betwene a Nunne and her brother: very vertuous was this Ladye, and of a veri vertuous place and close religion, and therin had bene long, in all which time she had neuer sene her brother, whiche was in likewyse very vertuous to, and had bene far of at an vniuersity, and had ther takēn ye degré of doctor in diuinitie. When he was com home, he wēnt to see his sister as he that highly reioysed in her vertue. So came she to the grate that they cal (I trowe) the locutorye, and after their holy watche worde spoken on both ye sydes after the maner vsed in that place, ye one toke the other by the tip of the finger, for hand would there none be wrongēn thorow the grate, and forthwith began my Lady to geue her brother a sermon, of ye wretchednes of this world, and the frayltie of the flesh, and the subtil sleightes of the wicked fiende, and gaue hym surely good counsel (sauing somwhat to long) how he shold be well ware in his liuing and maister well his body for sauynge of his soule: and yet ere her owne tale came all at an ende, she began to fynde a lytle fault with him (and said) in good faith brother, I do somewhat meruayle that you yt haue bene at lerning so long, and are doctor, and so learned in the lawe of god, dooe not nowe at oure metinge (while we mete so seldom) to me that am your sister and a simple vnlearned soule geue of your charitie some fruiteful exhortacion. And as I dout

not but you can say some good thing your selfe. By my trouth good sister quod her brother, I can not for you, for your toungue hath neuer ceased, but sayde ynough for vs bothe. And so Cosyn I remember, that when I was once fallen in, I lefte you litle space to saye oughte betwene. But nowe will I therfore take another way with you: for I shall of our talkyng, drie you to the one halfe. ¶ *Vyncent*. Now forsooth, vncle, this was a mery tale. But nowe if you make me talke ye one halfe, than shall you be contented farre otherwyse than there was of late a kinsewoman of youre owne, but whiche wyll I not tell you, gesse her and you can: her husbande had muche pleasure in ye maner and behaoioure of an other honeste man, and kept him therefore much companie, by the reason wheroft, he was at his meale tyme the more ofte from home. So happed it on a time, that his wyfe and he together, dyned or supped wyth that neigheboure of theirs, and than she made a mery quarel to him, for making her housbande so good chere out a dore, yt she could not haue hym at home. Forsothe maistres quod he (as he was a drie mery man) in my company nothing kepeth him but one, serue you him with ye same, and he wil neuer be frōm you. What gay thing may that be, quod our Cosyn than? Forsooth maisters quod he, youre husband loueth well to talke, and whan he sitteth with me, I let hym haue al the wordes. Al the wordes quod she? marye that am I content, he shall haue all the woordes with good will, as he hath euer hadde. But I speake them all my selfe, and geue them all to hym, and for oughte that I care for them, so shall he haue them styl: but otherwyse to saye that he shall haue them al, you shal kepe hym still, rather than he geat the halfe.

¶ *Anthony*. Forsooth Cosin I can sone gesse whiche of oure kynne shee was: I wold we had none therin (for al her mery wordes) that lesse wold let their husbandes to talk. ¶ *Vyncent*. Fosoth shee is not so merye, but she is as good. But where you finde fault vncle, yt I speake not ynough, I was in good fayth ashamed, that I speake so muche, and moued you suche questions, as I founde vpon your aunswere, might better haue bene spared, thei were so little woorthe. But now sith I see you be so wel content that I shall not forbeare boldly to shew my foly, I will be no more so shamefast but aske you what me lust.

¶ Whither a man maie not in tribulacion vse some worldly recreacion for his conforte

¶ THE FIRST CHAPTER

AND first good vncle ere wee procede farther, I will bee bold to moue you one thing more of that we talked whēn I was here beefore. For when I reuolued in my mynde agayn the thynges that were concluded here by you, me thought ye would in no wyse that in any tribulacion mēn should seeke for coumforte, either in worldlye thyng or fleshlye, whiche mynde vncle of yours, semeth somewhat harde, for a merye tale wyth a frende, refresheth a manne muche, and without any harme lyghteth his mynd, and amendeth his courage and hys stomake, so that it semeth but well done to take suche recreacion. And Salomon sayeth I trowe, that mēn should in heauiness geue the sory man wyne to make hym forgeat his sorow. And saynt Thomas sayth, that proper pleasaunte talkynge whyche is called *oὐτροὐελεῖα* is a good vertue seruynge to refreshe the mynde, and make it quycke and lustye to labour and study agayn, where continuall fatigacion, woulde make it dull and deadlye.

¶ *Anthony*. Cosyn, I forgat not that poynte, but I longed not much to touch it, for neyther might I well vtterlye forbearre it, wher the cause might happe to fall yt it should not hurte, and on the other syde yf the case so shoulde fall, me thoughte yet it shoulde little nede to geue ani man counsayle to it, folke are prone ynoughe to suche fantasyes of theyr owne mynde, you maye see thys by our selfe, whyche comyng now together, to talke of as erneste sad matter as menne can deuyse, were fallen yet euen at the first into wāntōn idle tales: and of trouth cosin, as you know very well, my selfe am of nature euen halfe a gigglot and more. I would I could as easily mende my faulte as I well knowe it, but scante canne I refraine it as olde a foole as I am: howbeit so parcial wil I not be to my fault as to praise it. But for that you require my minde in the matter, whether menne in tribulacion may not lawfully seeke recreacion and coumfort themselfe, with some honest mirth, first agreed that our chief cōforte must be in god, and that with hym we must begin, and with him contynue, and wt him end also. A mān to take now and than som honest worldly mirth, I dare not be so sore as vtterly to forbid it, syth good men and wel learned, haue in sōme case allowed it, specially for the diuersitie of diuers mens mindes:

for els yf we wer al such, as would god we wer, and such as natural wisedome would we should be, and is not al cleane excusable that wee be not in dede: I wold than put no dout, but yt vnto ani mān the most comfortable talking yt could be, wer to heare of heuēn wheras now god help vs, our wretchednes is such yt in talking a while thereof, men waxe almost wery, and as though to heare of heauen were an heauye burdayne, they muste refreshe themself after with a foolish tale. Our affeccyon towarde heauenlye ioyes waxeth wonderful colde. If dread of hell wer as far gone, verye fewe woulde feare God, but that yet a little sticketh in our stomakes, marke me Cosyn at the Sermon, and commenlye towardes the ende, somewhat the preacher speaketh of hell and heauen: nowe whyle he preacheth of the paynes of hell, stylly they stande and yet geue hym the hearynge. But as soone as he commeth to the ioyes of heauen, they bee buskyng them backeward and flocke meale fall away, it is in the soule somewhat as it is in the body. Som are there of nature or of euil custome come to that point, that a worse thinge sometime more stedeth them then a better. Some manne if he bee sicke, can awaye with no wholesome meate, nor no medicine can goe downe with hym, but if it be tempered with some suche thyng for his fantasie as maketh the meate or the medicine lesse wholesome than it should be. And yet while it wil be no better, we must let him haue it so. Cassianus ye very vertuous manne rehearseth in a certayne collacion of his, that a certain holy father in makyng of a sermon, spake of heauen and heauenly thinges, so celestially, that muche of his audyence wiht the swete sounde therof, beganne to forgeat all the world and fal a slepe: which when the father behelde, he dissembled their sleping, and sodainly said vnto thēm I shall tel you a merye tale. At whyche worde they lift vp their heade and harkened vnto that: and after the slepe therewt broken, heard hym tell on of heauen agayne. In what wyse that good father rebuked than theyr vntowarde mindes so dul vnto the thyng that al our life we labour for: and so quicke and lustye towarde other trifles, I neither beare in minde, nor shall here neede to rehearse. But thus much of that matter suffiseth for oure purpose, that where as you demaunde me whyther in tribulacion mēn maye not sometyme refreshe themselfe with worldly mirthe and recreacion, I can no more say, but he yt cannot lōng endure to hold vp his head and heare talking of heuēn except he be nowe and thān betwene (as though heuen were heauines) refreshed with a meri foolish tale, ther is none other remedi but you must let him haue

it: better would I wish it, but I cannot helpe it. Howbeit, let vs by mine aduise at the least wyse make those kyndes of recreacion as shorte and as selde as we can: let them serue vs but for sawce, and make them not our meate, and lette vs pray vnto god, and all our good frendes for vs, that we may fele suche a sauoure in the delyght of heauen, that in respect of the talkyng of the ioyes thereof, all worldlye recreacion be but a gryefe to thinke on. And be sure cosin, that yf we might once purchase the grace to come to that point, we neuer found of worldly recreacion so muche coumforte in a yere, as we should fynde in the bethynkyng vs of heauen in lesse than half an houre.

¶ *Vyncent.* In faith vnkle I canne well agre to this: and I pray god bring vs once to take such a sauour in it: and surelye as you began the other daye, by faith must we come to it, and to faith by prayer. But now I praye you good vnkle vouchesafe to procede in our principall matter.

¶ *Of the shorte vncertayne life in extreme age or sickenes*

THE II. CHAPITER

Anthony. Cosine, I haue bethought me, somwhat vpon this mater since we wer last together. And I finde it, yf we should goe some waye to woork, a thing that woulde require many mo dayes to treat therof, than we should happily find mete thereto in so fewe as my selfe wene yt I haue now to liue, while euery time is not like with me, and among many paynfull in which I loke euery day to departe: my mending daies come very seld, and are very shortly gone. For surely Cosin I can not liken my life more metely now than to the snuffe of a candle that burneth wtin the candlestickes nose. For as ye snuf sometyme burneth downe so lowe, that whoso loketh on it, would wene it were quite out, and yet sodainely lifteth vp a flame halfe an ynch aboue the nose, and geueth a preaty short lyght agayn, and thus playeth diuers times, tyll at laste ere it be loked for, out it goth altogether so haue I Cosyn dyuers suche dayes together, as euery day of them I loke euen for to dye, and yet haue I than after that some suche fewe dayes agayne as you see me nowe haue youre selfe, in which a man wold wene that I myghte yet wel cõtynue, but I know my lingering not likely to last longe, but out wil my snuffe sodainly some daye within a while, and therfore wyll I with goddes helpe, seme I neuer so

wel amended neuertheles recken euery day for my last. For though that to the repressing of the bolde courage of blinde youth there is a very true prouerbe, that as sone cometh a yonge shipes skin to the market as an olde, yet this difference ther is at ye least betwene them: that as the younge man may happe somtime to dye sone, so ye old man can neuer liue long. And therefore Cosin, in our matter here leauyng oute many thinges that I would els treat of I shall for this time speake but of verye fewe, howbeit if God hereafter send me moe suche dayes, than wyll we whēn you lust farther talke of moe.

¶ *He deuideth tribulacion into three kindes, of which three the last
he shortly passeth ouer*

¶ THE III. CHAPITER

AL maner of trybulacyon, Cosin, that anye man can haue, as farre as for thys tyme cometh to my mind, falleth vnder some one at the least of these thre kyndes: either is it such as hymself willingly taketh or secondly, suche as hymselfe willingly suffreth, or finally, such as he cānnot put frōm hīm. This third kind I purpose not muche more to speake of nowe, for thereof shall as for this time suffyse, those thinges that wee treated betwene vs this other day: what kynde of trybulacion this is I am sure youre selfe perceiue, for sicknes, imprisonment, losse of goodes, losse of frendes, or such bodily harme as a man hath already caught and can in no wise auoide these thynges and such like, are the third kinde of tribulacion that I speake of, which a man neyther willingly taketh in the beginning, nor can though he would put afterward away. Now thynk I, that as to the man yt lacketh wyt and faith, no coumfort cān serue whatsoeuer counsell be geuen, so to them that haue bothe, I haue as for this kind said in maner ynough alredy, and considring yt suffer it nedes he muste while he can by no maner of meane put it frōm him, ye very necessitie is half counsaile inough to take it in good worth, and beare it paciently, and rather of his pacycence to take both ease and thanke, then by frettyng and fumynge to encrease hys presente Payne, and by murmure and grudge fall in farther daunger after by displeasyng of God wyth hys frowarde behauour, and yet albeit that I thynke that that is sayde suffyseth, yet here and there I shall in the seconde kynde, shewe some suche coumforte as shall wel serue vnto thys last kynde too.

¶ THE IIII. CHAPITER

THE firste kynde also wyll I shortelye passe ouer too, for the tribulacion that a manne wyllinglye taketh hymselfe whiche no manne putteth vpon him againste his owne will, is you wote well as I, somewhat touched the laste daye, such affliccion of the flesh or expence of his goodes as a man taketh hymselfe, or willinglye bestoweth in punisemente of his own sinne, and for deuocion to god. Nowe in this tribulacion nedeth he no manne to coumforte him, for while no manne troubleth him but himselfe whiche feeleth howe farrefoorth he maye conueniently beare, and of reason and good discrecion shall not passe that, wherein if any doubte aryse, counsayle nedeth and not comfort. The courage that for goddes sake and his soule health kyndleth his hert and enflameth it thereto shall by the same grace, that putte it in his mynde, geue him suche coumforte and ioye therein, that ye pleasure of his soule shall passe the Payne of his bodye: yea and whyle he hath in hert also some great heauiness for his sinne yet whēn he considereth the ioy that shall come of it, his soule shal not faile to fele than that straunge case which my body felt once in gret a feuer. ¶ *Vyncent.* What straunge case was that vncle?

¶ *Anthony.* Forsoth cosin, euēn in this same bedde it is nowe more than fiftene yere agoe, I laye in a tercian and had passed I trowe, three or fowre fittes: but after fell there on me one fit out of course, so straunge and so merueylous, yt I would in good faith haue thought it impossible. For I sodaynely felte my selfe verelye bothe hoat and colde throughout al my body, not in some part the one, and in som part the other, for that hadde been you wote wel no very straunge thing to fele the head hoate while the handes were colde: but the selfe same partes I saye so god sauē my soule, I sensibly felt and right painfully to, all in one instaunte bothe hoate and colde at once.

¶ *Vyncent.* By my fayth vncle, thys was a wonderfull thinge, and suche as I neuer hard happen any manne els in my daies, and fewe menne are there of whose mouthes I could haue beleued it.

¶ *Anthony.* Courtesy, cosyn, paraduenture letteth you to saye that you belieue it not yet of my mouth neither: and surely for feare of yt you shold not haue hard it of me neyther, had there

not an other thing happed me sone after. ¶ *Vyncent*. I pray you what was that good vnkle?

¶ *Anthony*. Forsoth Cosyn this I asked a phisicion or twayne, that than loked vnto me how this should be possible and thei twaine tolde me both yt it could not be so, but yt I was fallen into sōme slōmber and dreamed that I felte it so. ¶ *Vyncent*. This hap hold I, litle cause you to tell yt tale more boldly. ¶ *Anthony*. No cosyn that is true loe. But than happed there another, that a yonge Gyrlē here in this towne whom a kinsman of hers had begon to teache phisicke, told me that ther was suche a kind of feuer in dede.

¶ *Vyncent*. By our Ladye vnkle, saue for the credence of you, the tale would I not yet tel againe vpon that happe of ye mayde. For though I knowe her nowe for suche, as I durste well beleue her, it myght happe her very wel at that tyme to lye, because she would you shold take her for cunning. ¶ *Anthony*. Ye, but thān happed there yet an other happe theron cosin, that a work of Galiēn *de differentiis febrium*, is ready to be solde in the boke sellers shoppes: In which workes she shewed me than the chapter where Galien sayth the same.

¶ *Vyncent*. Marye vnkle as you saye, that happe happed well, and that mayd had (as hap was) in that one point more cunnyngē than hadde both your physcions besydes: and hath I wene at thys daye in many pointes moe.

¶ *Anthony*. In faythe so wene I too: and that is well wared on her, for she is verye wyse and well learned, and very vertuous too. But see now what age is: Loe, I haue bene so longe in my tale that I haue almoste forgotten for what purpose I tolde it. Oh, nowe I remember me loe, lykewyse I saye, as my selfe felte my bodye than bothe hoat and cold at once: so he that is contryte and heauye for hys synne, shall haue cause to bee, and shall in deede bee bothe sad and gladde, and bothe twayne at once, and shall dooe as I remember holye Saynt Hierome biddeth: *et doleas, et de dolore gaudeas*. Bothe bee thou sory sayth he, and bee thou also of thy sorowe ioyfull. And thus as I began to saye of cōfōrt to be geuen vnto him that is in this tribulacion, that is to wit, in fruitful heauynesse and penaunce for his syn, shall we none nede to geue other, than only to remember and consider wel the goodnessse of gods excellent mercy that infinytely passeth the malice of al mennes sinnes, by which he is readye to receiue euerye man, and did spread his armes abrode vpon the crosse, louyngly to embrace al them that wil come, and euen there accepted the thefe at his last ende that

turned not to god til he myght steale no lenger, and yet maketh more feast in heauēn at one that from synne turneth, than of xcix. good menne that sinned not at all. And therefore of that first kynde wyll I make no longer tale.

¶ *An obiecccion concerningyng them that turne not to god til thei come at the last caste*

¶ THE V. CHAPITER

Vyncent. Forsoth vnkle, this is vnto that kynde conforte very gret and so great also, that it may make many a man bold to abyde in his sinne, euen vnto hys ende, trustynge to bee than saued as that thefe was. ¶ *Anthony.* Very sooth you saie cosyn, yt some wretches are there suche, that in suche wyse abuse the great goodnes of god, that ye better that he is, ye worse agayn be they. But cosyn, though there be more ioye made of his turnyng that from ye pointe of perdition commeth to saluacion, for pitie that god had and his saintes al of the peril of perishing that the man stode in, yet is he not set in like state in heuen as he should haue bene if he had liued better before, except it so fall that he lyue so wel after, and do so muche good that he therin outrun, in the shorter time, those good folke that yet did not so muche in much lenger, as it proued in the blessed apostle saintc Paule, whiche of a persecutour became an apostle, and last of al came in vnto that office, and yet in ye labour of sowing the sede of christes faith outrannte al the remenaunt, so farforth that he letted not to say of himself.

Abundantius illis omnibus laborauit. I haue laboured more then all the remnaunt haue. But yet my Cosin, thoughe God I doubte not be so mercifull vnto them, that in any time of theyr lyfe turne and aske his mercye, and truste therein, though it be at ye last end of a mannes lyfe and hireth hym as well for heauen that commeth to woorke in his Vyneyarde towarde nyght, at suche tyme as woorke menne leauue woorke, and go home being than in wil to woorke, if the time wold serue as he hireth him that commeth in the morninge: yet maie there no man vpon the truste of this parable bee bold al his life to lye still in sinne. For let him remember that in to Goddes Vyneyarde there goeth no manne but he that is called thither. Nowe he that in hope to bee called towarde nighte, will sleepe oute the morninge, and drinke out the daie, is full

likelye to passe at nyghte vnspeaken to, and than shall hee with shrewde reste goe supperlesse to bedde. They tell of one that was wonte all waye to saye that al the while he liued he would dooe what he luste: for three woordes when hee died shoulde make all saue ynoch: but than so happed it, that long ere hee were olde, his horse once stoumbled vpon a broken bridge, and as hee laboured to recouer hym, when he saw it woulde not bee, but downe into the floude headlonge nedes he shoulde: in a sodain flight he cried out in the falling, haue all to the deuill: and there was hee drowned with his three woordes ere he died, wheron his hope hong al his wretched life. And therefore lette no manne sinne in hope of grace, for grace commeth but at Goddes wyll, and that minde maie bee the lette that grace of fruitful repenteinge shall neuer after bee offered hym, but that he shall either gracelesse goe linger on carelesse, or with a care fruitlesse, fall into despayre.

¶ *An obiection of them, that say that tribulacion of penance nedeth not, but is a superstitious folye*

¶ THE VI. CHAPTER

Vyncent. Forsooth Vnkle, in thys poynte me thynketh you saye verye well. But than are there somme agayne that saye on the tother syde, that heauynesse for our synnes wee shall nede none at all, but onelye chaunge oure intente and purpose to dooe better, and for all that that is passed take no thought at al. And as for fastyng and other affliccion of the bodye, they saye wee shoulde not dooe it, but onely to tame the fleshe whan wee feele it ware wanton and begynne to rebel: for fasting they say, serueth to kepe the body in tēmperance, but for to fast for penānce, or to do any other good work, almose dede or other, towarde satisfacciōn for our owne synne, this thyng they cal playne iniurye to the passion of Christ, by which onely are our synnes forgeuēn freely withoute any recompence of oure owne. And thei that would do penance for their owne sinnes, loke to bee theyr owne Christes, and pay theyr own raūnsomes, and saue their soules themselfe. And with these reasons in Saxony, many cast fastyng of, and all other bodily affliccion, saue onely where nede requireth to bryng the body to temperaunce. For other good thei saye can it none do to our selfe, and then to our neyghbour can it do none at all, and therefore they condemne it for

supersticious foly: now heuines of hert and weping for our sinnes this they recken shame almost and womanishe peuishnes, howebeit, thanked be god, their women ware there now so mannish, yt thei bee not so peuish nor so poore of sprite, but that they can synne on as men doe, and bee neyther afraide nor ashamed, nor wepe for theyr sinnes at all. And surely myne vnkle, I haue meruayled the lesse euer sincē that I heard the maner of theyr preachers there. For as you remember whēn I was in Saxony, these matters were in a maner but in a mam-
merynge, nor Luther was not than weded yet, nor religyous menne out of their habyte, but suffered were those that woulde bee of the secte frely to preache what they woulde vnto the people. And forsoth I heard a religious man there my selfe, one that hadde bene reputed and taken for very good, and which, as farre as the folke perceyued, was of his owne liuyng somewhat auster and sharpe, but his preachyng was wonderfull, me thinke I heare him yet, his voice was so loude and shrill, his learnyng lesse than meane: but wher as his matter was much part against fasting and all affliccion for anye penaunce whiche he called mennes inuencions, he cryed euer out vpon them to kepe wel the lawes of Christ, let go theyr piuishe penaunce, and purpose then to mende and seke nothyng to saluacion but the death of Christ, for he is our iustice, and he is our sauior and oure whole satisfaccyon for all our deadly synnes, he dyd ful penaunce for vs all vpon hys paynefull crosse, he washed vs there al cleane with the water of his swete side, and brought vs out of the deuyls daunger wyth hys deare precious bloude. Leauē therefore, leauē I beseche you these inuencions of men, your folish lenton fastes and your peuish penaunce, minish neuer christes thanke, nor loke to saue youre selfe, it is Christes death I tel you that must saue vs al: Christs deth I tel you yet again and not our owne dedes: leauē youre owne fastyng therefore, and leane to Christe alone good christen people for Christes deare bitter passion. Nowe so lowd and so shrill he cryed Christ in theyr eares, and so thicke he came foorth with Christes bitter passion, and that so bitterly spokēn with the sweate droppynge downe hys chekes, that I meruayled not though I sawe the poore womēn wepe, for he made my owne heere stande vp vpon my hed, and with suche preachyng wer the people so brought in, that some fel to break their fastes on the fastyng dayes, not of frailtie or of malice firste, but almost of deuocion, lest they shold take frōm Christ the thanke of his bitter passion. But when they were a while noseled in that point first, they could abide and

endure after many thynges moe, wyth whiche hadde he begonne, they woulde haue pulled hym downe. ¶ *Anthony.* Cosyne, God amende that manne whatsoeuer he be, and god keepe all good folke from suche maner of preachers: such one precher muche more abuseth the name of Christ and of hys bytter passion, than fife hundred hasardes that in theyr ydle busynesse sweare and forswere themself, by hys holy bytter passion at dyce. Thei carye the myndes of the people from the perceiuyng of theyr crafte, by the contynuall namyng of the name of Christ and crying his passiōn so shrill into their eares, they forgeat that the church hath euer taught them that al our penaunce without Christes passiōn wer not worth a pease, and they make the people wene yt we would be saued by our own dedes wythoute Chrystes deathe, where wee confesse that hys onelye Passion meryteth incomparable more for vs, than all our owne dedes dooe, but hys pleasure is, that wee shall also take Payne our owne selfe wyth hym, and therfore he byddeth all that wyll bee hys Dysciples take theyr Crosses on theyr backes as he dyd, and with their crosses folowe him: and where they say that fastyng serueth but for temperaunce to tame the fleshe, and keepe it from wantonnesse, I woulde in good fayth haue wente that Moyses hadde not bene so wylde, that for the tamynge of hys fleshe hee shoulde haue neede to faste whole xl. dayes together. No nor Hely neither, nor yet oure sauioure himselfe whiche beganne, and the apostles folowed, and al christendome haue kept the Lenton xl. dayes faste, that these folke call nowe so foolish. King Achab was not disposed to be wanton in hys fleshe, when he fasted and went clothed in sack clothe and al be sprent with ashes. Nor no more was in Ninie the kynge and all the citie, but thei wayled and dydde paynefull penaunce for theyr synne to procure god to pitie them and withdrawe his indignacion. Anna that in her wydowehead abode so many yeares wyth fastyng and praying in the temple, tyll the byrthe of Christe was not I wene, in her olde age so sore disposed to ye wantones of her fleshe that she fasted al therfore. Nor saincte Paule that fasted so muche, fasted not all therefore neyther. The scripture is full of places that proueth fastyng not to be the inuencion of man, but the institucion of god, and that it hath manye moe profites than one. And that the fastyng of one man may do good vnto another, oure sauior sheweth himself where he saith that some kinde of deuils cannot be by one man cast out of another: *Nisi in oracione et ieiunio.* Wythout prayer and fastyng. And therfore I meruail that thei take this way against

fasting and other bodily penaunce, and yet muche more I meruaile that they mislike the sorowe and heauinesse and displeasure of minde that a man should take in forethinking of his synne. The Prophete sayeth. *Sindite corda vestra et non vestimenta*: Teare your heartes (he sayth) and not youre clothes. And the Prophete Dauid sayth. *Cor contritum et humiliatum deus non despicies*: A contrite hearte and an humbled, that is to saye, a heart broken, torne, and with tribulacion of heauinesse for hys sinnes laide a lowe vnder foote, shalt thou not good Lorde despise. He sayeth also of his owne contrycion. *Laborauit in gemitu meo lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo*: I haue laboured in my wayling, I shal euery night wash my bed with my teres, my couch wyl I water. But what shold I nede in this matter to laye foorth one place or twayne. The scripture is full of those places, by whiche it playnelye appeareth that God looketh of duetye, not onely that we should amend and be better in the time to com, but also be sorye, and wepe, and bewaile our synnes committed before, and al the olde holye doctours be ful and whole of that mind that men must haue for theyr sinnes, cōtricion and sorow in heart.

What if a manne cannot wepe, nor in his heart be sory for his synnes

¶ THE VII. CHAPITER

Vyncent. Forsoth vncle yet semeth me this thing somewhat a sore sēntence, not for that I thynke otherwyse, but that there is good cause and great: wherfore a manne so should, but for that of trueth some man cannot bee sorye and heauy for hys synne yt he hath done, though he neuer so fayne would: but though he can be content for goddes sake to forbeare it from thenceforth: yet for euery sinne that is passed, can he not onely not wepe, but some were happily so wanton, that when he happeth to remember them, he can scantlye forbeare to laughe. Nowe yf contricion and sorow of hert be so requisite of necessity to remission, many a man should stand as it semeth in a very perilous case.

¶ *Anthony.* Many so should in dede cosin, and in dede many so dooe. And the old saintes write very sore in this point howbeit, *Misericordia domini super omnia operacius*: The mercy of

God is aboue all hys woorkes, and he standeth boundēn to no common rule, *Et ipse cognovit figmentū suūm et Propitiatur infirmemitatibus nostris*: And he knoweth the frayltye of this earthen vessel that is of his owne making, and is mercyfull, and hath pitie and compassion vpon our feble infirmities, and shall not exact of vs aboue the thing that we may doe. But yet cosyn, he that fyndeth hym selfe in that case, in that he is mynded to doe well hereafter, lette hym geue God thankes that he is no worse: but in that he cannot be sory for his sinne passed, let him be sory hardely that he is no better. And as saynt Jerom byddeth him that for hys synne soroweth in his heart, bee glad and reioyce in his sorow: so would I counsaile hym that cannot bee sad for his synne, to be sorye yet at the least that he cannot be sory. Besides this, though I would in no wyse any manne should dispaire, yet would I counsayle suche a manne while that affeccion lasteth, not to bee to bolde of courage, but lyue in double feare. Fyrst, for it is a token, either of faynt fayth or of a dul diligence, for surely if we well beleue in God, and therwith depely consider hys hygh maiestye with the peryll of our synne, and the great goodnes of God also; eyther should dreade make vs tremble and breake our stony hart, or loue should for sorow relent it into teares.

Besydes this, sithe I can skant beleue, but sythe so lyttle mysselykyng of oure olde synne, is an affeccion not very pure and cleane, and none vncleane thynge shall enter into heauen, cleansed shall it be and purfyed, before that wee come there. And therefore woulde I farther aduyse one in that case, the counsayle whych mayster Gerson gyueth euerye man, that sythe the bodye and the soule together make the whole man, the lesse afflyccion that hee feeleth in hys soule, the more payne in recompence lett hym put vpon hys bodye, and pourge the spirite by the afflyccion of the fleshe. And he that so dothe, I dare laye my life, shal haue hys harde hearte after relent into teares, and hys soule in an holesome heuynesse and heauenlye gladnesse to: speciallye yf (whych muste be ioyned wyth euerye good thynge) he ioyn faythfull prayer therewyth.

But (Cosyn) as I tolde you the other daye before in these matters wyth these newe men, I wyl not dyspute. But surelye for myne owne parte I can not well holde wt thēm. For as farre as myne own poore wytte can perceyue, the holy scripture of God is verye playne agaynst them, and the whole corps of Chrystendome in euerye Christen regyon, and the verye places, in whyche they dwell theym selfe, haue euer vnto theyr owne

dayes clearelye belieued agaynst them, and al the olde holy doctours haue euer more taught agaynst them, and all the olde holye enterpretours, haue construed the scripture agaynst them. And therfore if these menne haue now perceyued so late, that the scripture hathe be mysse vnderstanden all thys whyle, and that of all those olde holye doctours no man coulde vnderstande it, then am I to olde at thys age to begynne to study it nowe. And truste these mennes cunning (Cosyn) that dare I not in no wyse, sythe I can not see nor perceyue no cause, wherfore I shoulde thyncke that these menne myghte not nowe in the vnderstanding of scryputure, as well be deceyued theym selfe, as they beare vs in hande, that all those other haue bene all thys whyle before.

Howe beit (Cosyn) yf it so be that their way be not wronge, but that they haue founde out so easye a waye to heauen, as to take no thought, but make mery, nor take no penance at all, but set them downe and dryncke well for our sauours sake, sette cocke a hoope, and fyll in all the cuppes at ones, and then lette Chrystes passion paye for all the scotte: I am not he that wyl enuye theyr good happe. But surelye counsayle dare I gyue no man, to aduenture that waie with them. But such as feare least that waye be not sure and take vpon them wyllyngly tribulacion of penaunce, what conforte they doe take, and well maye take therein, that haue I somewhat tolde you alredy. And sythe these other folke sytte so mery wtout such trybulacion, we nede to talk to theim (you wotte well) of no such maner of conforte. And therefore of thys kynde of trybulacion, wyll I make an ende.

¶ Of that kynde of tribulacion, whych thoughe they not wyllynglye take, yet they wyllynglye suffer

THE VIII. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verely (good vnkle) so may you wel doe. For you haue broughte it vnto veri good passe. And nowe I requyre you come to the tother kynde, of whiche you purposed alwaye to treate last. ¶ *Anthony.* That shall I cosyn very gladlye doe. The tother kynde is thys whych I rehersed secōnd, and sorttyng out the tother twayne, haue kepte it for the last. Thys kynde of tribulaciōn is (you wotte well) of them that willinglye suffer trybulacion, thoughe that of theyr owne choice they toke it not at the fyrst. Thys kynde Cosyn, diuide we shal into twaine.

The first might we cal tentation, the second persecucion. But here must you consyder, that I meane not euery kinde of persecucion, but that kind onely, which though the sufferer would be lothe to fal in, yet will he rather abide it and suffer, then by the flyttinge from it, fall in ye dyspleasure of God, or leaue Goddes pleasure vnprocured. Howbeit yf we well consyder these twoo thinges, tentation and persecucion, wee maye fynde that eyther of theym is incydente into the tother. For bothe by tentacion the diuel persecuteth vs, and by persecucion the dyuell also tempeth vs. And as persecucion is tribulacion to euerye manne, so is tentacion tribulacion to a good man. Now though the diuell, oure spiritual enemye, fight against man in bothe, yet thys difference hath the common tentacion frōm the persecucion, that tentacion is as it were the fendes train, and persecucion his plaine open fyghte. And therefore wyll I nowe cal lall thys kinde of tribulaciōn here, by the name of tēmptacion, and that shal I deuyde in to two partes. The firste shal I call the dyuels traines, the tother his open fighte.

¶ *Firste of temptation in general, as it is common to bothe*

¶ THE IX. CHAPITER

To speake of euery kinde of tēmptacion particularlye by it selfe, this were (ye wote well) in maner an infinite thinge. For vnder that (as I told you) fall persecucions and al. And the diuel hath of his trains, a thousand subtil waies, and of his open fight as many sundry poysoned darteres.

He tempteth vs by the world, he tempteth vs by our own flesh, he tempteth vs by pleasure, he tempteth vs by payne, he tempteth vs by our foes, he tempteth vs by our owne friendes, and vnder colour of kinred, he maketh manye tymes oure next friendes our most foes. For as our Sauiour saith: *Inimici hominis domestici eius.*

But in al maner of so diuers temptacions, one merueilous conforte is this, that with the mo we be tempted, the gladder haue we cause to be. For as Saynte James saith, *Omne gaudium existimare fratres mei quūm in tentationes varias incideritis*: Esteme it and take it (saith he) my brethren for a thing of al ioy, when you fall into diuers and sundrye maner of temptacions. And no maruaile, for there is in this world sette vp as it wer a game of wrestling, wherin the people of God come in on

the tone side, and on the tother syde come mighty stronge wrestlers and wlye, that is to wyt, the diuels, the cursed proude dampned spirites. For it is not our flesh alone that we must wrestle with, but with the diuel to. *Non est nobis collectatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus principes et potestates aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum barum, contra spiritualia inequicie in celestibus*: Oure wrestlynge is not here saith s. Paule against flesh and bloud, but against ye princes and potestates of these darke regions, against the spiritual wicked gostes of the ayre.

But as God vnto thēm that on his part giue his aduersari the fal, hath prepared a crown, so he that wil not wrestle, shall none haue. For as S. Paul saith: *Qui certat in agone non coronabitur nisi legitime certauerit*: Ther shal no man haue the crowne, but he that doth his deuour therefore according to the law of the game. And thēn (as holi s. Bernard saith) how couldest thou fight or wrestle therfore, if ther were no challenger against the, that would prouoke thee thereto? And therfore may it be a great cōfōrt as S. James saith to euery man that feeleth him selfe challenged and prouoked by temptation. For therby perciueth he that it commeth to hys course to wrestle, which shal be (but if he willingly will playe the cowarde or the foole) the matter of his eternal reward.

¶ *A special comfort in al temptation*

¶ THE X. CHAPITER

BUT now must this needs be to man an inestimable comfort in al temptation if his faith fayle him not, that is to wit, yt he mai be sure that God is alway ready to giue him strength against the diuels mighte, and wisdom against the diuels traines. For as the Prophet saithe: *fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus, et factus est mihi in salutem*: My strength and my praise is our Lord, he hath bene my safegarder. And the scripture saithe: *pete a deo sapientiam, et dabit tibi*: Aske wisedome of God, and he shal giue it the, *vt possitis*, as sainth Paul saith, *deprehendere omnes artes*, that you may spye and perceyue al the craftes. A great comfort may this be in al kindes of temptation, that God hath so his hand vpon him that is wylling to stand, and wil trust in him, and cal vpon him, yt he hath made him sure by many faithful promises in holye scripture, yt either he shal not fal, or

if he sometyme thorow faintnes of faith, stager and happe to fal, yet if he call vpon God by tymes, his fal shal be no sore brosing to him, but as the scripture saith: *iustus si ceciderit non collidetur, quia dominus supponit manū suā*: The iuste man though he fal, shall not be broosed, for our Lord holdeth vnder his hand.

The Prophet expresseth a plaine comfortable promise of God against all tēptacions, wher he saith: *qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione dei celi cōmōrabitur*: Who so dwelleth in the helpe of the highest god, he shall abide in the proteccion or defēnce of the God of heauēn. Who dwelleth now good Cosyn, in the help of the high god? Surely he yt through a good faith abideth in the trust and confidence of Gods help, and neither for lacke of that faith, and trust in his help, falleth desperate of al help, nor departeth from the hope of his helpe, to seke himself helpe, as I tolde you the tother dai, of the flesh, the world or ye diuel.

Now he than that by fast fayth and sure hope, dwelleth in Gods helpe, and hangeth alway therupon, neuer falling fro that hope, he shal (saith ye prophet) euer dwell and abyde in Gods defence and proteccion: yt is to say, yt whyle he fayleth not to beleue wel, and hope wel, God wyl neuer faile in al temptation to defend hym. For vnto such a faythful wel hopyng man, ye prophet in the same psalme saith farther: *Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi, et sub pennis eius sperabis*: Wyth his shoulders shal he shadow the, and vnder his fethers shalt thou truste. Lo here hath euery faythfull man a sure promise, yt in the feruent heate of tentacion or tribulacion (for as I haue sayde dyuers times before, they be in such wise coincident, yt eueri tribulaciōn, the diuel vseth for tentacion to bryng vs to impatience, and therby to murmur and grudge, and blasphemy, and euery kinde of tentaciōn, to a good man that fyghteth agaynst it and wyl not folow it, is a very painful tribulacion) in the feruent heate I sai therfore of euery tentacion, God gyueth the faythful man yt hopeth in him, ye shadow of hys holy shoulders, which are brode and large, sufficient to refrigerate and refreshe the man in that heate, and in euerye trybulacion he putteth hys shoulders for a defence betwene. And then what weapon of ye diuel may geue vs any deadly woūnd whyle that impenetrable pauice of the shoulder of god stāndeth alway betwene.

Then goth the verse farther, and saythe vnto such a faithful mān. *Et sub pennis eius sperabis*: Thyne hope shalbe vnder hys feathers. That is to witte, for the good hope thou hast in his helpe, he wil take thee so neare hym into hys proteccion, yt as

the henne to keepe her yong chikens frōm the kite, nestleth thēm together vnder her own winges, so fro the diuels clawes, the rauenous kyte of thys darke ayre, wil the God of heauen gather the faithfull trusting folk nere vnto hys own sides, and set thēm in surety very wel and warme, vnder ye couering of hys heauenly wynges.

And of thys defence and proteccion, our sauour spake himself vnto ye Jewes (as mencion is made in the xxiii. chapter of S. Mathew) to whōm he sayd in this wise: *Hierusalem, Hierusalem que occidis prophetas, et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare te, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas suas, et noluisti.* That is to say: Hierusalēm Hierusalēm, yt killest the prophetes, and stonest vnto death thēm that are sēnt vnto the, how oftēn wold I haue gathered the together, as the henne gathereth her chyckins vnder her winges, and thou wouldest not?

Here are (Cosyn Vincent) wordes of no litle comfort vnto euery christen mān, by whych we may see, wt how tender affecciōn, God of his great goodnes lōngeth to gather vnder ye proteccion of his wings and how often like a louing hen, he clocketh home vnto him, euen those chikins of hys, yt wylfully walke abrode in to ye kites daūnger, and wyl not come at his clokkyng, but euer the more he clokketh for thēm, the farther they go from hym. And therfore cān we not dout if we will folow him, and with faithful hope come runne to hym, but yt he shal in al matter of tentacion, take vs nere vnto hym, and set vs euēn vnder hys wyng. And than are we safe, if we wil tary ther. For against our wil can ther no power pul vs thēnce: nor hurt our soules ther. *Pone me* (saith the prophet) *iuxta te, et cuiusuis manus pugnet contra me:* Set me neare vnto the, and fight against me whose hānd yt wil. And to shew ye great safegard and surety that we shal haue whyle wee syt vnder hys heauenly fethers, the prophet sayth yet a great deale farther, *In velamento alarum tuarum exultabo.* That is to wit, that we shal not onely whēn we syt by his swete syde vnder hys holye wyng, syt in safegard but that we shal also vnder the couering of hys heauenly winges, with great exultacion reioyce.

¶ Of iiiii. kindes of tentaciōns, and therein both the partyes of that
kinde of tribulacion that men willingly suffer, touched in the
two verses of the psalter

¶ THE XI. CHAPTER

Now in the two next verses folowing, the prophet briefly cōpre-
hendeth iiiii. kyndes of temptacions, and therein al the tribulaciōn
that we shal nowe speake of, and also some part of that whych
we haue spoken of before. And therfore I shall peraduenture
(except any farther thing fal in our wai) with treating of those
two verses, finish and end al our matter.

The prophet saithe in the xc. psalme: *Scuto circundabit te
veritas eius, nōn timebis a timore nocturno, a sagitta volāne in die, a
negocio perambulānte in tenebris, ab incursu a demonio meridiano*:
the truth of God shal compasse the aboue wyth a pauice, ye
shalt not be a feard of ye nights feare, nor of the arow flying in
the day, nor of the busynes walking about in the darknesses, nor
of the incursion or inuacion of the dyuel in the myd day.

Fyrst Cosyn, in these words, the truth of God shal compasse
thee aboue wyth a pauice, the prophete for the conforte of
euyer good man, in al temptation and in al tribulacion, byside
those other things that he sayd before, yt the sholders of god
should shadow thēm, and that also thei shuld syt vnder his wyng,
here saith he farther that the truth of God shal compasse thee
wyth a pauice. That is to wyt, yt as god hath faythfully
promysed to protect and defend those that faythfully wyll
dwell in the trust of hys helpe, so wyl he truely performe it.
And thou that such one art, wyl the truth of his promise defend,
not with a litle round bukler, that scant can couer the head, but
with a long large pauice yt couereth al a long the body, made
(as holy S. Bernard sayth) brode aboue with the godhead, and
narow byneth with the manhod, so that thys pauice is oure
sauior Christ hymselfe. And yet is not thys pauyce lyke other
pauyces of thys world, whych are not made but in suche wyse,
as while it defendeth one part, the mān may be woünded vpon an
other. But thys pauyce is such, that as the prophete sayth, it
shal round about enclose and compasse thee, so that thyne
enemy shal hurt thy soule on no syde. For *scuto* (saith he) *cir-
cundabit te veritas eius*, wyth a pauice shal his truth enuyrōn and
cōmpasse the round about.

And then cōtinently folowing, to thētent that we should se

that it is not with oute necessitye, that the pauyce of God should compasse vs about vpon euerye syde, he sheweth in what wyse wee be by the dyuel wyth traynes and assautes, bi 4. kyndes of tentacions and tribulacions enuironed vpōn eueri side, against al which compasse of tēmpacions and tribulacions, that round compassing pauyce of Gods truth, shal in suche wyse defende vs and keepe vs safe, that we shal nede to dread none of them al.

¶ *The fyrst kynde of the iii. tēntacions*

¶ THE XII. CHAPITER

FYRST he saith: *non timebis a timore nocturno*, thou shalt not be a feard of the feare of the nyght. By the nyghte is ther in scripture somtyme vnderstanden tribulacion, as appeareth in the 34 chapter of Job: *nouit enim deus opera eorum, idcirco inducit noctem*: God hathe knownen the workes of thēm, and therfore shal he bring night vpon them, that is to wit tribulacion for theyr wickednes. And well you wot that the nyght is of the nature self, dyscomfortable and ful of feare. And therefore by the nyghtes feare, here I vnderstand the tribulacion, by whyche the dyuel thorow the sufferance of God, either by hymselfe or other that are hys instruments, tempteth good folk to impaciēnce, as he dyd Job. But he that (as the prophet sayth) dwelleth and continueth faythfully in the hope of Gods helpe, shal so be clipped in on euery syde wyth the shielde or pauice of God, that he shal haue no nede to be a feard of such tribulacion, that is here called the nyghts feare. And it may be also conueniently called the nyghtes feare, for two causes: The tone, for that many tymes the cause of hys tribulaciōn is vnto hym that suffreth dark and vnkownen, and therin varyeth it and diffreth fro that tribulacion, by whych the diuel tēmpeth a man wyth open fyght and assaut, for a knownen good thyng frōm whych he wold withdraw hym, or for some knownen euil thyng, in to whych he wold dryue hym, by force of such persecucion.

A nother cause for whyche it is called the nyghtes feare, maye be, for that that the nyght is so far out of corage, and naturally so casteth folk in feare, that of euery thyng wheroft they perceiue euerye maner dread, theyr fāntasi doubleth their feare, and maketh them often wene that it were much worsse, then in deede it is.

The prophet sayth in the psalter: *Posuisti tenebras, et facta*

est nox, in ipsa pertransibunt omnes bestie sylue, catuli leonum rupientes querentes a deo escam sibi : Thou hast good Lord set the darknes and made was the nyght, and in the nighte walken all the beastes of the woods, the whelps of the Lyons roryng and callynge vnto God for theyr meate.

Now though that the Lyons whelpes walke about roryng in the nyght, and seke for theyr pray, yet can they not get suche meate as they woulde al way, but must hold them self cōtent wyth suche as God suffreth to fal in theyr way. And though they be not ware therof, yet of God they aske it, and of hym they haue it. And thys may be comfort to al good men in their nyghtes feare, in theyr darke tribulaciōn that thoughe they fall into the clawes or the teth of those lyons whelpes, yet shal al that they can do, not passe beyond the body: which is but as the garment of the soule. For the soule it self, whyche is the substance of the man, is so surely fēnsed in round about with the shield or ye pauyce of God, that as longe as he wyll abyde faythfully *in adiutorio altissimi*, in the hope of Gods helpe, the lyons whelpes shal not be able to hurt it. For the great lion himself, could neuer be suffred to go farther in the tribulacion of Job, then God fro tyme to tyme gaue hym leaue.

And therfore ye depe darknes of ye midnyght, maketh men yt stand out of fayth and out of good hope in God, to bee in their tribulaciōn far in ye greater feare for lack of the light of fayth, wherby they myght perceyue yt the vttermost of theyr peryll, is a farre lesse thing then thei take it for. But we be so wont to set so much by our body whych we see and feele, and in the feedyng and fosteryng wheroft we set oure delite and our welth, and so lytle (alas) and so selde we thynk vpon our soule, because we cānnot see that but by spirituall vnderstandyng, and most specially by the yie of oure fayth (in the meditacion whereof we bestow God wot, lyttle tyme) that the losse of our bodye we take for a sorer thynge, and for a greater tribulacion a greate deale, thēn we do ye losse of our soule. And whereas our sauiour biddeth vs that we shuld not feare those lyons whelpes that cān but kyl our bodyes, and when that is don, haue no farther thynge in theyr power wherwt they can dooe vs harme, but byddeth vs stand in dreade of hym, whyche when he hath slayne the body, is able then bysyde to cast the soule in to euerlastynge fyre, we be so blynde in the dark nyght of tribulacion for lacke of ful and fast belyefe of Gods word, that wher as in the daye of prosperiteye we very lyttle feare God for our soule, our nightes feare of aduersiti maketh vs very sore to feare the

lyōn and hys whelpes, for dread of losse of our bodies. And wher as S. Paul in sūndri places sheweth vs, yt our bodye is but as the garment of the soule, yet the fayntnes of our faythe to the scripture of God, maketh vs with the nights feare of tribulaciōn more to dread, not onely the losse of oure body then of our soule, that is to wyt of the clothing, then of the substaunce that is clothed therwt, but also of the veri outward goods that serue for the clothyng of the body. And much more foolysh are we in that darke nights feare, then wer he that wold forget the sauing of his body for feare of leesing hys old rayne beaten cloke, that is but the couering of hys gown or his cote. Now consider farther yet, yt the prophet in the fore remembred verses, saith not yt in the night walk onely ye liōns whelps, but also *omnes bestie syluarūm*, al the beastes of the wod. Now wot you wel, yt if a man walk thorow the wod in the night, many thyngs may make hym afeard, of which in the day he wolde not be afeard a whyt. For in the night eueri bushe to hym that waxeth once aferd, semeth a theefe.

I remember that when I was a yong man, I was once in the warre wyth the king then my mayster (God assoile hys soule) and we wer cāmped within ye Turkes ground many a myle beyonde Belgrad which wold God wer ours now as wel as it was then. But so happed it that in our campe about mid nyght, ther sodainly rose a rumour and a scry, that the Turkes whole army was secretly stealyng vpōn vs. Wherewith our whole host was warned to arme them in hast, and set them selfe in aray to fight. And then wer scurers of ours that brought those sodayne tidinges, examined more leasurely by ye counsayle, what surety or what lykelyhood they had perceiued therin. Of whōm one shewed, that by the glymeringe of the moone, he had espied and perceiued and sene thēm himself, coming on softly and soberly in a long range al in good order, not one farther forth thēn ye other in ye fore front, but as euen as a thryd, and in bredth farther then he coulde se in length. Hys felowes beyng examined, saide yt he was somewhat prycked foorth before thēm, and came so fast backe to tel it thēm, that they thought it rather tyme to make hast and giue warnyng to the campe, then to go nerer vnto thēm. For they were not so far of but yt they had yet thēm selfe somewhat an vnperfyt sight of thēm to. Thus stode we watching al the remanānt of ye nighte euermore harkeninge when we shoulde heare thēm come. With husht, stand styll, me thinke I here a trampling, so that at last many of vs thought we heard them oure selfe also. But when the daye was sprungon,

and that we saw no man, out was our scurer sent agayn, and som of our captaines with him, to shew wher aboue ye place was in which he perceiued theim. And when they came thither, they founde that the great feareful army of the Turkes, so soberly coming on, tourned (God be thanked) into a fayre long hedge standing euene stone styl.

And thus fareth it in the nights feare of tribulacion, in which the diuel to beare downe and ouerwhelme with dread, the faithful hope that we shuld haue in god, casteth in our imaginacion much more feare then cause. For while there walke in that night, not onely the liōns whelps, but ouer that al the beastes of the woode beside, the beast that we heare rore in the darke night of tribulacion, and feare it for a lion, we somtime finde wel afterward in the day that it was no lyon at all, but a sely rude roryng asse. And the thynge that on the sea semeth somtyme a rocke, is in dede nothing els but a myst. Howebeit as the prophet saith: he that faithfully dwelleth in the hope of Gods help, the pauice of his truth shal so fēnse hym roūnd about, yt be it an asse, colt or a liōns whelp or a rocke of stone, or a myst, *non timebit a timore nocturno*, the nights feare therof, shall he nothing nede to dread.

¶ Of pusillanimite

THE XIII. CHAPITER

THERFORE finde I, yt in the nights feare one great part is, the fault of pusillanimity: that is to wit, faynte and feable stomake, by whych a man for faynte hart is a feard, wher he nedeth not, by the reason wheroft hee flyeth often tyme for feare of that thing, of which (if he fled not) he shoulde take none harme. And some man dothe sometyme by hys flyeng, make hys enemy bold on hym, whych would if he fled not, but durste abyde thereby, giue ouer and flye from hym.

This faut of pusillanimity, maketh a man in hys tribulacion, for feable hart, first impacient, and afterward oftēn times, dryueth hym by impacience into a contrary affeccion, makyngh hym fowardly stubborne and angry against God, and therby to fal into blasphemye, as do the dampned soules in hel.

This faut of pusillanimitye and tymorous mynde, letteth a man also mani tymes from the doyng of manye good thynges, whyche (if he tooke a good stomake to hym in the trust of Gods

helpe) he were wel able to do. But the diuel casteth hym in a cowardice, and maketh him take it for humilitie, to thinke hym selfe vmete and vnable thereto, and therfore to leaue the good thyng vndone, wherof God offereth hym occasion, and had made hym conuenient thereto.

But such folke haue nede to lyft vppe theyr hartes and cal vpon God, and by the counsayle of other good gostly folk, cast away the cowardice of theyr owne concepte, which the nightes feare by the dyuel hath framed in theyr fantasy, and looke in the gospel vpon hym which laied vp his talent, and left it voccupyed, and therfore vtterly lost it, with a great reproche of his pusillanimity, by whych he had ment he should haue excused him self, in that he was a feard to put it forth in vse and occupye it. And all this feare commeth by the dyuels dryft, wherin he taketh occasion of the fayntnesse of our good and sure trust in God. And therfore let vs faithfullye dwell in the good hope of hys helpe, and then shal the pauyce of hys truth so compasse vs aboue, that of thys nyghts feare we shal haue no feare at all.

¶ *Of the daughter of pusillanimitie, a scrupulous conscience*

¶ THE XIII. CHAPTER

THVS pusyllanimitye bryngeth forth by the nyghtes feare, a very tymorous daughter, a selye wretched gyrtle, and euer pulyng, that is called Scrupulositye, or a scrupulous conscience. This gyrtle is a metely good posil in an house, neuer idle but euer occupied and busye. But al be it she hath a verye gentle maystres that loueth her wel, and is wel cōtent with yt she doth, or if it be not al well (as all cannot alway be wel) content to pardon her as she dothe other of her felowes, and so letteh her know that she wyl, yet canne thys peuyshe gyrtle neuer ceace whining and pulyng for fear, lest her maistres be alway angry with her, and that she shal shreudlye be shent. Were her maystres (wene you) lyke to be content wyth thys condicion? nay surely.

I knew such one my self, whose maystres was a very wise woman, and (whych thing is in women veri rare) very milde also and meke, and lyked very well such seruyce as she dyd her in the house. But thys continual uncomfortable fashyon of hers, she so much misselyked, that she would somtyme saye: Eye, what eyleth this gyrtle? ye eluish vrchin weneth I wer a diuell

I trow. Surely if she did me ten times better seruice then shee dothe, yet with this fāntastical fear of hers, I wold be loth to haue her in myne house.

Thus fareth lo the scrupulous person which frameth himself mani times double the feare that he hath cause, and many times a great feare, wher there is no cause at al, and of that that is in dede no sinne, maketh a venial: and that that is venial, imagineth to be deadly, and yet for al that falleth in them, being namelye of theyr nature such, as no man lōng liueth without. And then he feareth that he bee neuer full confessed, nor neuer full contrite, and then that his sinnes bee neuer ful forgiuen him, and then he confesseth and confesseth again, and combreth him selfe and his confessour bothe. And then euery prayer that he saith, though he say it as well as the frayle infirmitie of the man wyll suffer, yet is he not satisfyed, but if he say it againe, and yet after that agayne. And whēn he hath sayd one thing thryse, as litle is he satisfied with ye last, as wyth the first, and then is hys hart euer more in heauynes, vnquyet, and in feare, ful of dout and dulnesse, withoute comfort or spiritual consolacion.

Wyth thys nyghtes feare, the dyuell sore troubleth the mynd of many a right good man, and that doth he to bring him to some great incōuenience. For he wyl (if he can) dryue hym so much to the fearful mynding of Gods rygorous iustice, that he wil kepe him from the cōfertable remembraunce of Gods great mightye mercy, and so make hym do al hys good woorkes wearily, and withoute consolacion or quyckenes.

Moreouer he maketh him to take for synne, some thyng that is none, and for deadly, some such as are but veniall, to thentent that when he shal fall into thēm, hee shall by reason of his scrupule, synne wher els he should not, or synne deadly, whyle hys conscience in the dede doing so gaue hym, wher as els in dede he had offended but venyally.

Yea and farther, the dyuel longeth to make al hys good workes and spirituall exercise so paynful and so tedious vnto hym, that with some other subtyl suggestion or false wyly doctrine of a false spiritual lyberty, he shold for the false ease and pleasure that he should sodaynelye fynd therin, be easely conuayed frōm that euyl faut into a much worsse, and haue his conscience as wyde and as large after, as euer it was narowe and straight before. For better is yet of trouth a cōnscyēnce a litle to straight, thēn a litle to large.

My mother had (when I was a lyttle boy) a good old woman

that tooke heede to her chyldren, they called her mother Mawde. I trow you haue hearde of her. ¶ *Vincent*. Yea yea very much. ¶ *Anihony*. She was wont when shee sat by the fire wyth vs, to tell vs (that were children) many chyldysh tales. But as *Plinius* sayth that ther is no boke lightly so badde, but that some good thing a man maye pyke out therof, so think I that ther is almost no tale so foolysh, but that yet in one matter or other, to some purpose it may hap to serue. For I remember me that amōng other of her fond tales, she told vs once, that the Asse and the Wolfe came vpon a tyme to confession to the Foxe. The poore Asse came to shryfte in the shrouetyde a day or two before Ash-wednisdai. But the Wolfe would not come to confession tyl he sawe first Palme sondaye past: and then foded yet forth farther, vntyl good Fryday. The Foxe asked ye asse before he began *benedicite*, wherfore he cāme to confession so sone, before Lent begin. The poore beast answered hym agayne, for feare of deadly synne, if he shuld lese hys part of any of those prayers, that the priest in the clensing dayes, pray for thēm that are then confessed alredy. Than in hys shrifte he had a marueilous grudge in hys inward conscience, that he hadde one day geuen hys master a cause of anger, in that that with his rude roring before his maister arose, he hadde awaked hym out of hys sleepe, and byreued hym of hys rest. The Foxe for that fault, lyke a good discryte confessour, charged hym to doe so no more, but lye styll and sleepe lyke a good sonne hymself, tyl his master were vp and redy to go to worke, and so should he be sure that he shuld not wake hym no more.

To tel you al the poore Asses confession, it wer a lōng worke. For euery thing that he dyd, was deadly sinne with him, the poore soule was so scrupulous. But hys wyse wylye confessoure accompted them for trifles, as they were and sware after vnto ye Bageard, that he was so weary to syt so long and heare him, that sauing for the maner sake, he hadde leauer haue sytten al that whyle at breakefaste wyth a good fat goose.

But when it came to the penance geuing, the Foxe found yt the most weighty synne in al hys shryft was glotony, and therfore he discrlyt gaue hym in penānce that he should neuer for gredynes of his meate, do any other beast anye harme or hynder-aunce, and then eate hys meate and study for no more.

Now (as good mother Maud told vs) when the Wolf came to father Reinard that was she sayd the Foxes name, to cōfession vpōn good Fryday, his confessour shooke his great payre of beades vpon hym, almost as bigge as bowles, and asked hym

wherfore he came so late. Forsooth father Reynard quoth he, I must nedes tel you the truth, I come you wote well therfore. I durst come no soner, for feare least you wold for any glotony haue giuen me in penance to fast some parte of thys lent. Nay nay quoth the father fox, I am not so vnresonable: for I fast none of it my selfe. For I may say to thee sōnne betwene vs twayne here in confession, it is no cōmmaundemēnt of God this fasting but an inuencion of man. The priestes make folke fast, and put them to paine about the moone shene in the water, and doe but make folk foles. But thei shal make me no such foole I warraunt the sonne. For I eate fleshe all this lent my selfe I. Howbeit in dede because I wil not be occasion of slander: I therefore eate it secretely in my chamber, out of sight of al such foolish brethren, as for theyr weake scrupulous conscience would waxe offended with all. And so wold I counsail you to do. Forsooth father Foxe quoth ye Wolfe, and so (I thanke God) I do as nere as I can. For when I go to my meate, I take none other company with me, but such sure brethren as are of myne owne nature, whose cōsciences are not weake I warānt you, but their stomaks as strōng as mine. Wel thēn no force quoth father Foxe. But when he hearde after by hys confession, that he was so great a rauenour, yt he deuoured and spent somtyme so much vitayle at one meale, as ye prycē therof wold wel finde some poore man wt his wife and his chldrēn almost al ye weeke, then he prudently reprooved that point in hym, and preached him a processe of hys own temperance, whiche neuer vsed (as he said) to passe vpon himselfe the value of six pēnce at a meale, no nor yet so much neither. For when I bryng home a gose quoth he, not out of the pulters shoppe, where folke finde thēm out of the feathers redi plucked and se which is the fattest, and yet for six pence bye and chose the beste, but out of the huswifes house, at ye fyrst hand, which may somwhat better chepe aford thēm (you wote wel) then the pulter may: nor yet can not be suffred to see thēm plucked and stand and chose them by daye, but am fayne by night to take at aduenture, and when I come home am fain to do the labour to plucke her my selfe to, yet for al thys, though it be but leane, and I wene not wel worthe a grote, serueth it me somtyme for al that, both dyner and supper to. And therefore as for that you lyue of rauin, therin can I find no faut: you haue vsed it so long, that I thyncke you can do none other, and therfore wer it foly to forbyd it you, and to say the truth against good cōsciēnce to. For liue you must I wot wel, and other crafte can you none. And therfore (as reasōn is) must you

lyue by that. But yet you wote wel to much is to much, and measure is a mery meane, which I perceiue by your shryft you haue neuer vsed to kepe. And therfore surelye thys shalbe your penance, that you shal al this yeare, neuer passe vpon your self the prise of sixe pence at a meale, as nere as your conscience can gesse the pryce.

Theyr shryfte haue I shewed you as mother Mawde shewed it vs. But nowe serueth for our matter the conscience of theym bothe, in the true performydge of theyr penaunce.

The poore Asse after his shrifte whēn he waxed an hungred, saw a sow lye wyth her pygges, wel lapped in newe strawe, and nere he drewe, and thought to haue eaten of the straw. But anone hys scrupulous cōsciēnce began therin to grudge hym. For while his penaunce was, yt for gredynes of hys meate, he shuld do none other bodye none harme, he thoughte he might not eat one straw there, least for lacke of that straw, some of those pigges might happe to dye for cold. So helde he stil hys hunger, tyll one broughte hym meate. But when he should fal thereto, then fel he yet in a farre farther scruple. For thēn it came in his minde, yt he shold yet breake his penaunce, if he shuld eat any of that either, sith he was cōmmaunded by hys gostly father, that he shoulde not for hys owne meate, hinder anye other beast. For he thought that if he eate not that meate, some other beast mighte happe to haue it: and so shoulde he by the eatyng of it, peraduenture hynder another. And thus stooode he styl fasting, tyll when he told the cause, his gostly father came and enformed him better, and thēn he caste of that scruple, and fel manerlye to his meate, and was a right honest asse many a fayre day after.

The Wolfe now comming frōm shrift cleane soyled from hys synnes, went about to do as a shreud wife once told her husband that she wold do when she cam from shrift. Be merye manne (quoth she now) for thys day I thanke God was I wel shriuen. And I purpose now therefore to leaue of al myne old shreudnes and begyn euen a fresh. ¶ *Vincent*. Ah wel vnkle can you report her so? That woorde hearde I her speake, but shee sayde it in sport to make her good man laugh. ¶ *Anthony*. In dede it semed she spake it half in sporte. For that she sayd she wold cast away al her old shreudnes, therin I trow she sported. But in that she said she wold begyn it al a fresh, her housband founde that good ernest. ¶ *Vincent*. Well I shall shew her what you say I warrant you. ¶ *Anthony*. Then wil you make me make my woorde good. But what so euer shee did, at the least

wyse so fared nowe thys Wolfe, which had cast out in confession al his olde rauyne, and thēn hunger pricked him forwarde, that (as the shrewd wyfe said) he should begin al a freshe. But yet the pricke of conscience withdrew and held hym backe, because he wold not for breaking of his penance, take anye praye for hys meale tyde, that shuld passe the prise of syxe pence. It happed hym than as he walked prolling for his geare about: he came wher a man had in fewe dayes before, cast of two old leane and lame horses, so sycke that no flesh was ther left vpon them. And the tone, when the Wolfe came by, could scant stānd on his legges, and the tother alredy dead, and his skyn rypt of and caried away. And as he looked vpon thēm sodainely, he was firste aboute to feede vpon them, and whet his teethe on theyr bones. But as he looked asyde, he spyed a fayre cowe in a close, walkynge with her yong calfe by her syde. And as soone as he saw thēm, hys conscience begān to grudge hym against both those twoo horses. And thēn he sighed and said vnto him selfe: Alas wicked wretche that I am, I had almoste broken my penaunce ere I was ware. For yonder deade horse, because I neuer saw no dead horse solde in the market, and I should euен die therfore, by the way that my sinful soule shall to, I can not deuise what price I should set vpon him. But in my conscience I sette him farre aboue sixe pence, and therfore I dare not medle with him. Nowe thēn is yonder quicke horse of likelyhod worth a great deale of mony. For horse be dere in this country, specially such softe amblers. For I see by his pace he trotteth not, nor cān scant shift a fote, and therfore I may not medle with him, for he very far passeth my sixe pence. But kine this countrey here hath inoughe, but money haue thei very little. And therfore considering the plēnty of the kine, and the scarsitie of the mony, as for yonder peuish cow, semeth vnto me in my cōscience, worth not past a grot, and she be worth so much. Now thēn as for her calfe, is not so much as she by halfe. And therfore while the cowe is in my consciēnce worth but foure pence, my conscience can not serue me for synne of my soule, to praise her calfe aboue twoo pence: and so passe they not sixe pēnce betwene thēm both. And therfore thēm twaine mai I wel eate at this one meale and break not my penaunce at al. And so therupon he did, without ani scruple of consciēnce.

If such beastes could speake nowe (as mother Mawde said they could thēn) som of them wold (I wene) tell a tale almoste as wise as this, wherin saue for the mynishing of old mother Mawdes tale, els wold a shorter processe haue serued.

But yet as peuish as the parable is, in this it serueth for oure purpose, that the nightes feare of a conscience somewhat scrupulous, though it be painefull and troublous to him that hathe it, lyke as this poore Asse had here, is lesse harme yet, then a conscience ouer large, or such as for his owne fantasy the man liste to frame himself, now drawing it narow, now stretching it in bredth, after the maner of a cheuerel point, to serue on euery syde for his owne commodity, as dydde here the wyly Wolfe.

But such folk are out of tribulacion, and comfort neede they none, and therefore are thei out of our mater. But those that are in the nightes fear of their own scrupulous conscience, let them be well ware as I sayd, that the deuill for wearinesse of the tone, drawe thēm not into the tother, and whyle he wold flye fro Silla drew him into Charibdis. He must doe as doth a ship that shoulde come into an hauen, in the mouth whereof lye secrete rockes vnder the water on both ye sydes. If he be by mysse happe entred in amōng thēm yt are on ye tone syde, and cān not tell how to get out, he must get a substāncial cūnning Pilote, that so can conduce hym frōm the rocks on that syde, that yet he bring him not into those that are on the tother side, but can guyde him in the mydde waye. Let them I sai therfore that are in ye troublous feare of theyr own scrupulous cōnsience, submit the rule of theyr own cōnsience, to the counsail of som other good man, which after the variety and the nature of the scruples, may temper hys aduise. Yea although a man be verye well learned hymself, yet let him in this case, learne the custome vsed among Phisicions. For be one of thēm neuer so cunning yet in hys owne disease and sycknesse, he neuer vseth to trust all to hymselfe, but sendeth for such of his felowes as he knoweth mete, and putteth himself in their hāndes for manye consideracions, whereof they assygne the causes. And one of the causes is feare, whereof vpon som tokēns he may conceiue in his owne passion, a great deale more then needeth, and then were good for his helth, that for the time he knew no such thing at al.

I knew once in this towne, one of the most cūnning men in yt faculty, and the best expert, and therwith ye most famous to, and he that the greatest cures did vpon other men. And yet when hee was hymselfe once very sore sycke, I heard his felowes that then looked vnto hym, of all which, euery one wold in theyr own disease, haue vsed hys help before any other man, wyshe yet that for the tyme of hys owne syckenes beinge so sore

as it was, he had knownen no phisike at al. He toke so great heede vnto euery suspiciois token, and feared so farre the wurste, that his feare did hym some tyme much more harme, then the sikenes gaue him cause.

And therfore as I sai, who so hath such a trouble of hys scrupulous conscience, let hym for a whyle, forbeare the iudgement of himselfe, and folow the counsel of som other, whom he knoweth for wel learned and vertuous, and speciallye in the place of confession. For ther is God speciallye presente with hys grace assyting hys sacrament. And lette hym not dout to aquyet hys mynde, and folow that he ther is bidden, and thinke for a while lesse of the feare of Gods iustice, and bee more mery in remembraunce of his mercy, and perseuer in prayer for grace, and abide and dwel faithfullye in the sure hope of hys helpe, and then shal he fynd without any doute, that the pauyce of Gods truth shal, as the prophet saithe, so cumpasse hym about, that he shal not dreade thys nyghtes feare of scrupulositie, but shal haue afterward hys conscience stablyshed in good quyet and rest.

¶ *A nother kynde of the nightes feare, a nother daughter of pusillanimite, yt is to wyt that horrible temptacion, by whych some folke are tempted to kyll and destroy them selfe*

¶ THE XV. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verelye good vnkle, you haue in my mynde well declared these kindes of the nights feare. ¶ *Anthony.* Surely Cosyn but yet are ther mani mo then I can either remember or fynde. Howbeit one yet cōmmeth nowe to my mynde, of which I before nothynge thought, and which is yet in myne opyniōn, of al the other feares the most horrable, that is to wit Cosin, wher the deuyl tēmpteth a man to kyl and destroy hymselfe. ¶ *Vincent.* Vndoubtedly thys kinde of trybulacion is marueilous and straunge, and the temptacion is of such a sort, that some men haue opiniōn, that such as once fal in that fantasy, can neuer ful caste it of. ¶ *Anthony.* Yes yes Cosyn, manye an hundred, and els God forbede. But the thing that maketh men so say, is because that of those whych finallye do destroye them selfe, ther is much spech and much wōndering, as it is wel worthy. But many a good man and woman hath somtime, yea dyuers yeares eche after other continually be tempted thereto, and yet haue by grace and good counsaile, well and vertuously withstand it, and

bene in conclusion clearely delyuered of it, and theyr trybulation nothinge knownen abrode, and therfore nothing talked of. But surelye Cosyn an horrible sore trouble it is, to any man or woman that the diuell tempteth therwith. Many haue I hearde of, and with some haue I talked my self, yt haue bene sore cōbred with that temptacion, and marked haue I not a lytle the maner of them. ¶ *Vincent.* I require you good vncle shewe me somwhat of suche thinges as you perceiue therin. For first, wher you cal this kinde of temptacion, the daughter of pusillanimitie, and therby so nere of sybbe vnto the nights feare, me thinketh on ye tother side, that it is rather a thinge that cometh of a great corage and boldnes, when they dare theyr own handes, put them self to death, from which we se almost euerye man shrinke and flye, and that many such as we know by good proofe and plaine experience, for men of great hart and excellent hardy corage. ¶ *Anthony.* I sayd Cosyn Vincent, that of pusillanimitie cometh this temptacion, and very trouth it is, that in deede so it doth. But yet I mēnt it not, that of onely faint hart and feare, it cometh and groweth alwaye. For the diuel tempteth sundry folkes bi sundry wayes. But the cause wherefore I spake of none other kynde of that tēmpacion, then of onely that, whiche is the daughter yt the dyuell begetteth vpōn pusillanimitie, was for that, yt those other kindes of ye temptaciōn, fal not vnder the nature of tribulacion and feare, and therefore fal thei far out of our matter here, and are such temptacions, as onely nede coūnsail and not comfort or consolaciōn, for that the persons therwith tempted, be with yt kinde of tēmpacion, not troubled in their mynde, but veryly wel content, bothe in the tempting and folowing. For som hath ther ben Cosyn suche yt they haue be tēmpeted thereto, by meane of a foolishe pride, and some by the meane of anger wtoute anye dread at al, and very glad to go thereto, to this I saye not naye. But where you wene that none fall thereto by feare, but that they haue all a stronge myghtye stoomake, that shall you well see the contrary, and that peraduenture in those, of whom you woulde wene the stomake most strōng, and their hart and corage most hardye. ¶ *Vincent.* Yet is it merueyl vncle vnto me, that it should be as you say it is that this temptacion is vnto theym that do it for pride or for angre, no tribulacion: nor that thei should neede in so great a distresse and peril, both of body and soule to be lost, no maner of good gostly comfort. ¶ *Anthony.* Let vs therfore Cosin cōsider a sample or twoo, for thereby shall we the better perceiue it.

Ther was here in Buda in king Ladislaus daies, a good poore honest mans wife. This woman was so fendish, that the diuell perciuing her nature: put her in the minde, that she shoulde anger her husband so sore, that she might giue him occasion to kil her, and then should he be hanged for her. ¶ *Vincent*. Thys was a straunge temptacion in dede. What the diuel should she be the better then? ¶ *Anthony*. Nothig, but that it eased her shreud stomake before, to thyncke that her husband should be hanged after. And peraduenture if you looke about the world and consider it wel, you shal finde mo suche stomakes then a fewe. Haue you neuer heard no furious body plainly say, that to see some such man haue a mischief, he wold with good wil be content to lye as longe in hell, as God lyueth in heauen? ¶ *Vincent*. Forsooth and some such haue I heard of. ¶ *Anthony*. This mynde of hys was not muche lesse mad then hers, but rather haply the more mad of ye twayne. For the woman peraduenture dyd not cast so farre peril therin. But to tell you now to what good passe her charytable purpose came. As her husband (the man was a carpenter) stooode hewing with his chyppe axe vpon a pece of timber, she begane after her old gyse so to reuyle him, that the man waxed wroth at last, and bode her get her in, or he would lay the helme of his axe about her backe, and said also that it were lyttle synne, euen with yt axe head to choppe of that vnhappye head of hers, that caryed suche an vngracious tong therin. At that word the diuel toke his time, and whetted her tong agaynst her teeth. And when it was wel sharped she sware to hym in verye fierce anger, by the masse horsōn husband I wold thou wouldest: here lyeth mine head lo (and ther with downe she laied her head vpon the same timber logge) yf thou smyte it not of, I beshrew thine horesons hart. With that lyke wise as the diuell stooode at her elbow, so stooode (as I heard say) his good angel at his, and gaue him gostlye corage, and bode him be bolde and do it. And so the good man vp wyth hys chyppe axe, and at a choppe chopped of her head in dede. Ther were stāding other folk by, which had a good sporte to heare her chide, but lyttle they looked for this chaunce, tyll it was done ere they could let it. Thei said they heard her tongue bable in her head, and cal horeson horeson, twice after that the head was fro the bodye. At the leaste wise afterward vnto the king thus they reported al, except onely one, and yt was a woman, and she said that she hearde it not. ¶ *Vincent*. Forsooth this was a wonderful woorke. What came vnkle of the man? ¶ *Anthony*. The king gaue him his pardon.

¶ *Vincent*. Verely he might in cōscience doe no lesse.
¶ *Anthony*. But then was it farther almost at another point, that ther shuld haue ben a statute made, that in such case, ther should neuer after pardon be graūnted, but the truth beyng able to be proued, none husband shoulde nede any pardon, but should haue leaue by the law, to folow the sample of yt carpenter, and do the same. ¶ *Vincent*. Howe happed it vnclē that that good law was left vnmade? ¶ *Anihony*. Howe happed it? as it happeth Cosyn, that many moe be left vnmade as well as it, and within a litle as good as it to, both here and in other cōuntries, and somtyme som wursse made in theyr stede. But as they say, the let of that lawe was the Quenes grace (God forgiue her soule). It was the greatest thing I wene good ladi, that she had to answer for when she dyed. For surely sauē for that one thynge, she was a full blessed woman. But letting now yt law passe, this temptation in procuring her owne death, was vnto this Carpenters wife no tribulacion at al, as far as euer men could perceiue. For it liked her wel to thinke theron, and she euen longed therfore. And therfore if she had before tolde you or me her mynde, and that she wolde so fayne bring it so to passe, we could haue had none occasiōn to comfort her, as one that wer in tribulacion. But mary coūnsayle her (as I told you before) we might to refraine and amende that malicious dyuelish mynde. ¶ *Vincent*. Verylye that is truth. But such as are wel willing to do any purpose yt is so shameful, wyl neuer tel their mind to no body for veri shame. ¶ *Anthony*. Somme wyll not in deede. And yet are there some agayne, that be theyr entente neuer so shameful, fynde some yet whom theyr hart serueth thēm to make of theyr counsayle therin. Som of my folke here can tel you, that no lenger a go than euen yesterday, one that came out of Vienna, shewed vs among other talkyng, that a rych wydowe (but I forgat to aske hym wher it happed) hauing al her lyfe an high proud mynde and a fell, as those two vertues are wont alwai to keepe company together, was at debate with a nother neigbour of hers in the towne. And on a tyme shee made of her coūnsayle a poore neighbour of hers, whōm she thought for money she might induce to folowe her mynde. Wyth hym she secretlye brake, and offered hym ten ducates for hys labour, to do so much for her, as in a morning early to come to her house and wyth an axe vnknownen, pryuelye stryke of her head, and when he had so don, they conuey the bloody axe into ye house of hym with whom shee was at debate, in some such maner wyse as it might be thought that he hadde murdered her

for malice, and then she thought she should be taken for a martyr. And yet hadde she farther deuised, that another sum of money should after be sent to Rome, and there shuld be meanes made to the Pope, that she might in al haste be canonised. Thys poore man promised, but entended not to performe it, how be it when he dyfferred it, she prouided the axe her selfe, and he appoynted wyth her the morning when he should come and do it, and thereupon into her house he came. But then set he such other folke as he wold should knowe her frantike fantasy, in suche place appointed, as thei might wel heare her and him talk together. And after yt he had talked wt her therof what he wold, so muche as he thought was inough, he made her lye downe, and toke vp the axe in hys owne hand, and wyth the tother hand, he felte the edge, and found a faulte that it was not sharpe, and that therefore he woulde in no wyse do it, tyll he hadde grounden it sharpe, he could not els he sayd for pty, it wold put her to so much paine. And so ful sore against her wyl for that time she kept her head styl. But because she wold no more suffer anye mo deceyue her so, and fode her forth with delaies, ere it was very long after, she hong her selfe her own handes. ¶ *Vincent*. Forsoothe here was a tragical story, wherof I neuer heard the lyke. ¶ *Anthony*. Forsooth the party that tolde it me, sware that he knewe it for a trouthe. And hym self is I promyse you such as I reken for ryght honest and of substanciall truth.

Now here she letted not, as shamefull a mynde as shee had, to make one of her counsayle yet, and yet as I remember a nother to, whom she trusted with the money that should procure her canonisacion. And here I wote wel, that her temptation came not of feare, but of hye malyce and pryd. But then was she so glad in the pleasant deuice thereof, that as I shewed you, she tooke it for no tribulacion, and therfore comforting of her, could haue no place, but if men shoulde anye thing gyue her toward her help, it must haue bene as I told you good counsayl. And therfore as I sayd, this kynd of tēmptacion to a māns owne destrucciōn, which requyreth counsaile, and is out of tribulacion, was out of our matter, that is to treate of comfort in tribulacion.

¶ Of hym that were moued to kyl himself by illusion of the dyuel,
whych he reckened for a reuelacion

¶ THE XVI. CHAPITER

BUT least you myght reiect both these samples, wening they wer but fayned tales, I shal put you in remembraunce of one which I reken yourselfe haue red in the Collatiōns of Cassianus, and if you haue not ther you may sone finde it. For my self haue halfe forgotten the thynge, it is so longe synce I red it. But thus much I remember, that he telleth there of one, that was many dayes a very special hollye man in hys liuing, and among the other vertuous monkes and ankers that lyued ther in wildernes, was maruelousli much estemed sauing that some were not al out of fear of him, least his reuelacions whereof he told many by hymself, wold proue illusions of the diuel. And so proued it after in dede. For the man was by the dyuels subtil suggestions brought into such an high spirituall prude, that in conclusion the diuel broughte him to that horrable point, yt he made hym go kyll hymselfe. And as far as my mind geueth me now wtout new sight of the booke, he brought hym to it by this perswasion, yt he made hym belieue, yt it was Gods wil he shuld so do, and that therby should he go straight to heauen. And then if it wer by yt persuasion, with which he tooke very great cōfōrt in hys owne mynde hymselfe, then was it as I sayd out of our case, and neded not comfort, but counsayle agaynst geuing credence to the diuels perswasion.

But marye if he made hym first perceiue how he had bene deluded, and then tempted hym to his own death bi shame and by dispayre, then was it wythin oure matter lo, for then was his temptacion fallen down fro prude to pusillanimiti, and was waxen that kinde of the nights fear that I spake of, wherin a good part of the counsail that wer to be geuēn him, should haue nede to stande in good comforting, for then was he broughte into right sore tribulacion.

But (as I was about to tel you) strēngth of hart and corage is ther none therein, not onely for that veri strēngth (as it hath the name of vertue in a reasonable creature) can neuer be without prudēnce, but also for that (as I said) euen in them that seme men of most hardynes, it shall wel appeare to thēm that wel way the matter, that the mynde wherby thei be led to destroy them selfe groweth of pusillanimitie and very foolysh feare.

Take for the sample *Cato vicensis*, whych in Affrike killed himself, after the great victory that Julius Cesar hadde. Saint Austine wel declareth in his worke *de ciuitate dei*, that there was no strengthe nor magnanimitie therin, but plaine pusyllanimitie and impotency of stomake, wherbi he was forced to the destrucciōn of himself, because his hart was to feable for to beare the beholding of another māns glory or the suffering of other worldly calamities, that he feared should fal on hym self. So that (as S. Austine wel proueth) that horrible dede is none act of strēngth, but an act of a mynde, either drawnen frōm the consideracion of it selfe with som diuelish fantasy, wherin the mān hath nede to be called home with good counsayle, or els oppressed by faynt hart and feare, wherin a good part of the cōunsail, must stand in lyfting vp hys corage with good consolacion and comfort. And therefore yf we founde any such religious person, as was that father whych Cassian writeth of, that wer of such austericie and apparēnt gostly lyuing, that he wer with such as wel knew hym, reputed for a man of singuler vertu, and that it wer perceiued that he had many straunge visions appering vnto hym, if it should now be perceyued after that, that the man went aboute secretly to destroy hymself, who so shuld happe to come to the knowledge therof, and entēded to do his deuour in the let, fyrst must he fynde the meanes to serche and finde out, whither the man be in his maner and hys countenaunce lyghtsome, glad, and ioyful or dumpish, heauy and sadde and whither he go thereabout, as one that were full of the glad hope of heauen, or as one that had hys brest farsed ful of tediousnes and werynes of the worlde. If he wer founden of the first fashion, it were a token that the dyuel hath by hys fantastical apparitions, puffed him vp in such a peuyshe prude, that hee hathe finallye persuaded hym by some illusyon shewed hym for the proofe, that Goddes pleasure is, that he shal for hys sake with his owne handes kil him self. ¶ *Vincent*. Now if a man so found it vncle, what cōunsail should a man geue hym than? ¶ *Anthony*. That were somewhat out of our purpose Cosyn, sith (as I told you before) the mān were not then in sorowe and tribulacion, wherof our matter speaketh, but in a perilous mery mortall tentacion. So that if we should bysyde our own mater that we haue in hand, enter into that to, wee myght make a lenger woorke betwene both, then we could wel finysh this day. How be it to be short, it is sone sene, that therin the sum and effect of the counsayle, must in maner rest in geuing him warnyng of the diuels sleightes. And yt must be done vnder such swete pleasant

maner, as the man shoulde not abhorre to heare it. For whyle it could lightly be none other, but that the man wer rocked and songen a sleepe by the diuels craft, and hys minde occupied as it wer in a delectable dreame, he should neuer haue good audience of hym, that wold rudely and boystuously shogge hym and wake him, and so shake him out therof. Therefore must you fayre and easely touch hym, and with some pleasant spech awake hym so yt he waxe not wayward, as chyldren doe that are waked ere they lyst to ryse.

But when a man hath first begon wt his praise (for if he be proud ye shal much better please hym wt a cōmmendacion, thēn with a dyrige) thēn after fauour won ther withal a man may lytle and litle insinuate the dout of suchē reuelacions, not at the fyrst as it were for any dout of hys, but of some other that men in som other places talke of. And peraduenture it shall not misse content himself, to shew great peryls that may fall therein in a nother mans case then hys owne, and shal begyn to preach vpon it. Or if you were a man that had not so verye greate scrupulous conscience of an harmeles lie, deuised to do good wyth all (whych kynde S. Austyne though he take alwaye for syn, yet he taketh but for venial, and S. Hieron. as by diuers places in his boks apereth, taketh not fully for so much), then may you fayne some secret frend of yours to be in such case, and that your self somewhat fear his peril, and haue made of charity this viage for his sake, to aske this good fathers coūnsayl. And in ye cōmunicaciōn vpōn these wordes of S. John: *nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex deo sint:* Geue not credence to euery spirit, but proue ye spirits whyther they be of God. And these wordes of S. Paul: *angelus sathane, transfigurat se in angellum lucis.* The angel of Sathan trānsfigureth himselfe into the angel of light. You shall take occasion, the better if they happe to come in on hys syde, but yet not lacke occasion neyther, if those textes for lacke of hys offer, come in vpōn your own. Occasion I say shal you not lacke, to enquyre by what sure and vndeceiuable tokens, a man maye dyscerne the true reuelacions from the false illusōns: whereof a man shal fynde many, bothe here and ther in dyuers other authors, and whole together, dyuers goodly treatices of that good godly doctour, master John Gerson, intituled *De probatione spirituum.* As whyther the party be natural wyse, or any thyng seme fantastical. Whither the party be poore spirited or proud, whyche wyl somewhat appeare by hys delyte in hys owne prayse, or if of wylynes, or of a nother pryde for to be praysed of humilitie, he refuse to here therof, yet

any lyttle faut found in hymselfe, or diffidence declared and mystrust of hys own reuelacions and doutful tokens told, wherfore himself should feare least they be the dyuels illusion, such thynges, as master Gersōn sayth, wyl make hym spet out somewhat of hys spiryt, if the dyuel lye in his brest.

Or if the diuel be yet so subtyl, that he kepe hymselfe close in hys warme denne, and blow out neuer an hote word, yet is it to be considered, what end hys reuelacions draw to, whyther to any spirytual profyt to hymself or other folke, or oneli to vayn maruailes and wonders.

Also whither they wythdraw him frōm such other good vertuous busines, as by the cōmon rules of christendome or any rules of hys profession, he was wonte to vse, or were bounden to bee occupied in.

Or whyther he fal into anye singularity of opinions against the scripture of God, or agaynst the common faythe of Christes catholyke church.

Many other tokens are ther in ye work of master Gerson spoken of, to consyder by, whyther the person, neither hauinge reuelacions of God, nor illusiōs fro the dyuel, do either for wynnnyng of money, or worldly fauour, fayne his reuelaciōns hymself, and delude the people wythall.

But now for our purpose, if amone anye of the markes by whyche the true reuelacyons maye bee knownen frome false illusions, that man hymselfe bring forth for one marke, the doing or teaching of any thyng agaynst ye scripture of god, or the comon faythe of the churche, than haue you an entre made you, by whyche when you list you mai enter into the special matter, wherin he cā neuer wel flit from you. Or els may you yet if you list, fayne that your secret friend, for whose sake you come to hym for counsayle, is brought in that mynde by a certayne apparicion shewed vnto hym, as hymselfe saith by an angel, as you feare by the diuel, that he cā be by you none other wyse perswaded as yet, but that the pleasure of God is, that he shal go kyl hymselfe, and that if he so do, then shal he be thereby so specially participant of Christes passiōn that he shal forthwyth be caried vp with angels into heauen. For whych he is so ioyful, that he fyrmely purposeth vpōn it, no lesse glad to do it, then a nother man wolde be glad to voyde it. And therefore may you desyre hys good counsayle to instruct you with some substantiall good aduise, wherwyth you maye turne hym from this error, yt he be not vnder hope of Gods true reuelacion, in bodi and soule destroyed by the diuels false illusion.

If he wil in thys thing study and labour to instruct you, the thinges that himself shal fynde of hys own inuention, though they be lesse effectual, shall peraduēture more worke wyth hymself towarde hys owne amendement, syth he shal of lykelyhood better lyke thēm, then shall double so substancial told hym by a nother mān.

If he be loth to thynke vpon that syde, and therfore shrynde fro the matter, then is there none other way, but aduenture after the playne fashion to fal into the mater, and shewe what you heare, and to giue hym counsayl and exhortacion to the contrary: but if you lyst to saye, that thus and thus hathe the matter bene reasoned alredy betwene your friend and you. And therin may you reherse such thinges, as shuld proue yt the visiōn which moueth him is no tru reuelaciōn, but a veri false illusion. ¶ *Vincent.* Verely vncle I wel allow this, yt a man shuld as well in this thing as euery other wherin he longeth to doe another man good, seke such a pleasant way, as the party shuld be likely to lyke or at the least wise, wel to take in worth his communicacion, and not so to enter in ther vnto, as he whom he woulde helpe, should abhorre him, and be loth to heare him, and therfore take no profit by him. But nowe vncle, if it come by the tone way or the tother, to the point that heare me he wil or shal: what be the reasons effectual, with which I should by my coūnsaile conuert him. ¶ *Anthony.* Al those, by which you may make him perceiue that hymselfe is deceiued, and that hys visyons be no godly reuelacions, but very diuelish illusion. And those reasons must you gather of the mān, of the matter, and of the law of god, or of some one of these. Of the man, if you cān peraduēture shew him, that in suche a pointe or such, he is waxēn worse syncce such reuelacions haue haunted him, then he was before: as in those that are deluded, who so be wel acquainted with them, shal wel mark and perceiue. For they waxe more proud, more waywarde, more eniuious, suspiciois, mysse iudging, and deprauing other men, with the delite of theyr owne praise, and such other spiritual vices of the soule.

Of the matter maye you gather, if it haue happed hys reuelacions before to proue false, or that they bee thinges rather straunge then profitable. For that is a good mark betwene gods miracles and the dyuels wōnders. For Christ and hys saintes, haue their miracles alway tending to frute and profit. The dyuel and hys wiches and necromancers, al theyr wonderful workes, draw to no fruteful end, but to a fruitelesse ostentacion and shew, as it were a iugler yt woulde for a shew before the

people, plai masteries at a feast. Of the lawe of God you muste drawe youre reasons, in shewynge by the scripture, that the thynge whyche he weneth God by hys angel byddeth, god hath hys own mouthe forbydden. And yt is you wot wel in the case yt we speake of so easye to finde, yt I nede not to reherse it to you, sith ther is plaine among the x. cōmmaundemēnts forboden the vnlawful killing of any man, and therfore of hymself as saynt Austyne saith, al the church teacheth, except himself be no mān. ¶ *Vincent*. This is very true good vncle, nor I wyl not dispute vpōn any glosing of that prohibicion. But sythe we finde not the contrary, but that God may dispence wt that cōmmaundement himself, and bothe lycence and cōmmaund also if himself list, any man to go kyl either a nother mān or himself either thys man that is now by such a meruelous vision induced, to belieue yt God so biddeth hym, and therfore thinketh him selfe in that case of that prohibicion discharged, and charged wyth the contrari cōmmaundement, wyth what reason mai we make him perceiue that his vision is but an illusion and not a true reuelacion. ¶ *Anthony*. Nay Cosyn Vincent, ye shall in thys case, not neede to requyre those reasōs of me. But takyng ye scrypture of God for a grounde for thys matter, you know veri wel your self you shal go somwhat a shorter wai to worke, if you aske thys question of him, that sith God hath forboden once the thyng himself, though he may dispence therwith if he wyll, yet syth the dyuel may fayne hymself God, and wyth a meruelous visiōn delude one, and make as though God dyd it, and syth the diuyl is also more likely to speake against Gods cōmmaundement, then god against hys owne, you shall haue good cause I say to demaund of the mān hymself, wherby he knoweth that hys vision is Gods true reuelacion, and not the diuels false delusion. ¶ *Vincent*. In dede vncle I thynk that would be an hard question to hym. May a man vncle haue in suche a thing, euen a very sure knowledge of hys own mynde? ¶ *Anthony*. Yea cosyn, God maye caste in to the mynde of a man I suppose such an inward light of vnderstanding, that he can not fayle but be sure thereof. And yet he that is deluded by the dyuel, may thynke hym selfe as sure, and yet be deceiued in dede. And suche a difference is ther in a maner betwene theim, as is betwene the sight of a thyng whyle we be waking and loke theron, and the sight wt whiche we se a thing in our slepe, whyle we dreame therof. ¶ *Vincent*. This is a prety similitude vncle in this thyng, and thēn is it easy for ye mōnke yt we speake of to declare how he knoweth hys vision for a true reuelacion and not a false

delusion, if ther be so great difference betwene thēm. ¶ *Anthoni.* Not so easye Cosyn yet as you wene it wer. For how can you now proue vnto me, yt you be awake? ¶ *Vincent.* Mary lo do I not nowe wagge my hande, shake my head, and stampe with my foote here in the flore? ¶ *Anthony.* Haue you neuer dremed ere this, yt you haue done the same? ¶ *Vincent.* Yes that haue I and more to then that. For I haue ere this in my slepe, dreamed yt I doubted whither I were a sleepe or a wake, and haue in good faith thought, that I dydde ther vpon euen the same things that I do nowe in dede, and thereby determined that I was not a sleepe. And yet haue I dreamed in good faythe farther, that I haue bene afterwarde at diner, and ther making mery with good company, haue told the same dreame at the table, and laughed wel thereat, that while I was a sleepe, I had by such meanes of mouyng the partes of my bodye, and cōsidering therof so verely thought my selfe wakinge. ¶ *Anthony.* And wyl you not now sone (trowe you) when you wake and ryse, laugh as wel at your self when you see that you lye now in youre warme bedde a sleepe agayne, and dreame al this time, while you wene so verelye that you be waking and talking of these matters with me? ¶ *Vincent.* Gods Lorde vnkle, you go now meryly to work with me in dede, when you loke and speake so sadly, and would make me wene I wer a sleepe. ¶ *Anthony.* It maye be that you be so for any thing that you cān say or do, wherby you may with any reason yt you make, drieue me to confesse that your self be sure of the contrary, sith you can doe nor say nothyng nowe, whereby you be sure to be wakynge, but that you haue ere this, or hereafter may, thinke your selfe as surely to do the selfe same thinges in dede, while you be al the whyle a sleepe, and nothing do but lye dreaming. ¶ *Vincent.* Wel wel vnkle, though I haue ere thys thought my selfe awake while I was in dede a sleepe, yet for al this I know well inough that I am awake nowe, and so doe you to, though I can not fynde the wordes by whiche I maye with reason force you to confesse it, but that alwaye you maye drieue me of, by the sample of my dreame. ¶ *Anthony.* This is Cosin as me semeth verye true, and like wise semeth me the manner and difference betwene some kinde of true reuelacions, and som kinde of false illusions, as it standeth betwene the thinges that are done waking, and the thinges that in our dreames seme to be done while we be sleping, that is to wit, that he which hath that kynde of reuelacion fro God, is as sure of the truth, as we be of our owne dede whyle we be waking. And he that is illuded

by the dyuell, is in suche wise deceiued and worste to, then be they by their dreame: and yet rekeneth for the tyme himself as sure as the tother, sauynge that the tone falsly weneth, ye tother truely knoweth. But I say not Cosin, that this kinde of sure knowledge, cometh in euery kinde of reuelacion. For ther are many kindes, wherof wer to long to talk now. But I say that God doth or maye do to man in some thing, certaynely send some suche. ¶ *Vincent*. Yet then maye this religious man of whom we speake, when I shewe him the scripture against his reuelacion, and therfore cal it an illusion, bid me wt reason go care for my self. For he knoweth wel and surely himself, that his reuelation is very good and true, and not any fals illusion, sith for al the general cōmmaundement of God in the scripture, God may dispence where he will, and when he will, and mai commaund him do the contrary, as he commaūnded Abraham to kil his own sonne. And as Sampson had by inspiracion of God, commaundemēnt to kil him self, with pulling downe the house vpon his owne head at ye feast of ye Philisties.

Now if I would then doe, as you bode me right now, tel him that such apparitions maye be illusions, and sithe Gods word is in ye scripture agaynst him plain for the prohibicion, he must perceiue the truth of his reuelacion, whereby that I may know it is not a false illusion: then shal he byd me againe, tell him whereby that I can proue my selfe to bee a wake, and talke with him, and not to be a slepe and dreame so, sith in my dreame I may as surely wene so, as I know that I doe so. And thus shal he driue me to the same bay, to which I wolde bring him. ¶ *Anthony*. This is well saide Cosin, but yet could he not scape you so. For the dispensacion of Gods common precept, which dispensation he must say that he hath by his priuate reuelacion, is a thing of such sort, as sheweth it self nought and false. For it neuer hath had any sample lyke, sinne the world began vnto now, that euer man hath redde or heard of, amonge faithful people commended. First in Abraham touching the death of his sonne God intended it not, but onely tempted the towardnesse of the fathers obediēnce.

In Sampson all menne make not the matter very sure, whither he be saued or not. But yet therein some matter and cause appeareth. For the Philisties, being enemies to God, and vsyng Sampson for their mocking stocke in scorne of God, it is wel lykely, yt God gaue him ye minde to bestow his owne life, vpon the reuenging of the displeasure, that those blasphemous Philisties did vnto God. And that appeareth metely clere by

this that thoughe his strengthe fayled hym when he wanted hys heare: yet hadde he not as it seemeth that strengthe euer more at hande, whyle hee hadde hys heare, but at suche times as it pleased God to geue it him: which thing appeareth by these woordes, that the scripture in some place of that matter sayth: *Irruit virtus domini in Sampsonem*: The power or might of God, rushed into Sampson. And so therfore while this thing that he dyd in the pulling downe of the house, was doone by the special gyft of strength then at that poynt geuen hym by God: it wel declareth that the strength of God, and therewith the spirite of God, entred into him therfore.

Saynt Austine also rehearseth, that certayn holy vertuous virgines, in time of persecucion, being by Gods enemies infideles pursued vpon to be defloured by force, ranne into a water and drowned themselfe, rather then they woulde be bereued of their virginitie. And albeit that he thinketh it is not lawefull for any other mayde to folowe their saumple, but rather suffer other to dooe her any maner violence by force, and cōmitte sinne of his owne vpon her against her will, than willingly, and thereby sinnefull her self become an homicide of her self, yet he thinketh that in them it happed by the speciall instinct of the spirite of God, that for causes seene vnto himselfe, woulde rather that they shoulde avoyde it with their own temporall deth, then abyde the defoyling and vyolacion of their chastitie.

But now this good man neither hath any of goddes enemies to be by his own deth reuenged on, nor any woman that violently pursue him by force, to bereue him of his virginitie, nor neuer find we that God proued any mannes obedient mynde, by the commaundemente of his owne slaughter of himselfe. Therfore is his case both playn against Goddes open precept, and the dispensacion straunge and withoute saumple, no cause appearing nor wel imaginable, but if he wold thinke, that coulde neither anye lenger liue withoute him, nor take him to him, in such wise as he dooeth other men, but commaunde him to come by a for-boden waye, by whiche withoute other cause, we neuer hearde that euer he bode anye man elles before.

Nowe where you thinke, if you shold after this bidde hym tell you, by what waye he knoweth that his intent ryseth vpon a true reuelacion, and not vpon a false illusion, he woulde bidde you then again, tell him by what mene you know that you be talking with him well waking, and not dreame it sleping: you maye tell him agayn that menne thus to talke together as you dooe and in suche maner wise, and to prooue and perceue that

thei so dooe, by the mouing of themselfe, with putting the question thereof vnto themselfe for their pleasure, and the marking and considering therof, is in wakyng a dayly common thing that euery manne dooeth or may dooe when he will, and when they dooe it, they dooe it but of pleasure. But in slepe it happeth verye selde, that men dreame that they so dooe, nor in the dreame neuer putte the question but for doubte. And therefore it is more reason, that sith this reuelacion is suche also as happeth so selde, and ofter happeth that men dreame of suche, than haue suche in dede: therfore is it more reason you may tell hym, that he shewe you whereby he knoweth in such a rare thing, and a thyng more like a dreame that himself is not a slepe, than you in such a common thing among folk that are waking, and so seldomme happing in a dreame, should nede to shew him wherby you know that you be not a slepe.

Besides this, himselfe to whome you shoulde shew it, seeth and perceiue the thing that he would bid you proue. But the thing that he wold make you beleue, the trueth of his reuelacion whiche you bydde him proue, you see not he wotteth well himselfe. And therefore ere you belieue it against the scripture, it wer wel consonant vnto reason, yt he shold shew you wherby he knoweth it for a true waking reuelacion, and not a false dreaming delusion. ¶ *Vincent.* Then shal he peraduenture say to me agayne, that whether I beleue him or not, maketh him no mater: the thing toucheth himselfe and not me, and himself is in himself as sure yt it is a true reuelacion, as yt he can tel yt he dremeth not but talketh with me waking. ¶ *Anthony.* Withoute doute (cosin) if he abyde at that poynt, and canne be by no reason brought to dooe so much as dout, nor can by no meane be shogged oute of his deadde slepe, but wil nedes take hys dreame for a verye trouth, and as some by night ryse and walke about their chamber in theyr slepe, will so ryse and hang himselfe: I can then none other way see, but either binde him faste in hys bedde, or elles assay whether that might happe to helpe him, with whiche the common tale goeth, that a caruers wife in such a frantike fantasie holpe her housbande. To whome, when he woulde vpon a good frydaye, nedes haue killed himself for Christ as Christ did for hym, it wer then conuenient for him to dye euen after the same fashion, and that mighte not be by his own handes, but the hand of some other. For Christ (pardie) killed not him self. And because her husband shold nede to make no mo of coūnsayl (for that wold he not in no wise) she offred him that for Goddes sake she would secretly crucify him

her self, vpon a great crosse that he had made to nayle a newe carued crucifixe vpon. Wherof when he was verye glad, yet she bethought her that Chryst was bounden to a piller, and beaten firste, and after crouned with thorne. Where vpon when she had by his owne assent bound him fast to a post, she left not beating with holy exhortacion to suffer, so much and so long, yt ere euer she left woorke and vnbounde him, praying neuerthelesse that she might put on his head and driue it well downe, a crowne of thorne yt she had wrethen for him, and brought him, he sayd he thought this was ynoch for that yere. He would pray God forbeare him of the remenaunt, till good frydaye come agayne. But when it came agayn the nexte yere, then was his lust past, he longed to folow Christ no ferther.

¶ *Vyncent*. In dede vncle, if this help him not, then wil nothing help him I trow. ¶ *Anthony*. And yet cosin, the deuill may peraduenture make him toward suche a purpose, first gladly suffer other payne, yea and minishe his feeling too therin, that he may thereby the lesse feare his death. And yet are peraduenture some tyme such thinges, and many moe to be assayed. For as the deuill may hap to make hym suffre, so may he happe to misse, namely if his frendes falle to prayer for hym against his temptacion. For that can himself neuer doo while he taketh it for none. But for conclusion, if the man be surely proued so inflexibly set vpōn the purpose to destroy himself, as commaūnded therto by God, that no good counsayle that men can geue him, nor anye other thing that men may dooe to him, can refrayne hym, but yt he would surely shortly kylle himself, then except only good prayer by his frendes made for him: I can find no farther shift, but either haue him euer in sight, or bind him fast in hys bedde. And so must he nedes of reason be content to be ordred. For though himselfe take hys fantasy for a true reuelacion, yet sith he cannot make vs perceiue it for such, like wise as he thinketh himself by hys secret commaundement bounden to folow it, so must he nedes agree, that sith it is against the playn open prohibicion of god, we be by the playn open precept boundēn to kepe him from it. ¶ *Vyncent*. In thys poynt vncle, I can goe no ferther. But now if he wer vpon the tother syde, perceiued to mind his destruccion, and to goe ther about with heauines of hearte, and thought, and dulnes, what waye wer there to be vsed to him then? ¶ *Anthon*. Then wer his temptacion as I told you before properly perteining to our matter. For then wer he in a sore tribulacion and a very perillous. For then were it a token, yt the deuil had either by bringyng him into some

great sinne, brought him in despayre, or peraduenture by hys reuelacions founden false and reproued, or by some secrete sinne of his deprehended and diuulged, cast him both in despayre of heauen thorow feare, and in a werines of this lyfe for shame, sith he seeth hys estimacyon lost among other folke, of whose prayse he was woont to be proude. And therfore cosin, in such case as this is, the man is to be fayre handeled and swetely, and with dowce and tender louing woordes, to be put in good courage, and coumforted in all that men goodly may.

Here must they put him in mind, that if he despayre not, but pull vppe his courage and trust in goddes greate mercye, he shall haue in conclusion greate cause to be glad of this fall. For before he stoode in greater perill then he was ware of, whyle he tooke himself for better then he was. And God for fauoure that he heareth him, hath suffered him to fall diepe into the deuilles daunger, to make him thereby knowe what he was, whyle he tooke himself for so sure. And therfore as he suffred hym then to fall for a remedye against ouer bold pryd, so wil god now (if the man meke himself, not with frutles despayre, but with fruitful penance) so set him vp again vpon hys fete, and so strēngth him with his grace, that for this one fall that the deuill hath geuen hym, he shall geue the deuill an hundred.

And here must he be putte in remembrance of Mary Magdalene, of the prophete Dauid, and specially of S. Peter, whose hygh bolde courage tooke a fowle fall. And yet because he despayred not of Goddes mercye, but wept and called vpon it, how hyghly God tooke hym into hys fauour agayne, in his holy scripture is wel testifyed, and well thorow christendome knownen.

And now shall it be charitably doone, if some good vertuous folke such as himself somewhat estemeth, and hath afore longed to stand in estimacion with, dooe resort sumtime vnto him, not only to geue him counsayle, but also to aske aduice and counsayle of him, in some cases of their owne conscience, to let him thereby perceiue, that they no lesse esteme him now, but rather more then thei did before, sith they thinke him now by this fall, better expert of the deuilles craft, and therby not only better instructed hymself, but also better able to geue good aduice and counsayl vnto other. This thing will in my mind well amend and lift vp hys courage frōm the peryll of that desperate shame.

¶ *Vyncent.* Me thinketh (vnkle) that thys wer a perilous thing. For it may peraduenture make him set the lesse by his falle, and therby cast him into his first pride, or into his other sinne again,

yt falling wherinto, draue him into this despayre. ¶ *Anthony.* I doo not mene cosin, yt euery foole shold at aduēnture fall in hand with him, for so loe might it happe for to dooe harme in dede. But (cosin) if a cunnyng phisicion haue a mān in hand, he can wel discerne when and how long some certayn medicine is necessary, which at another time ministred, or at that time ouer lōng continued, might put the pacient in perill. If he haue his pacient in an ague, to the cure wherof he nedeth his medicines in their woorking cold: yet if he hap ere that feuer be full cured, to fall into some such other disease, as except it were holpen with hoate medicines, wer likely to kill the bodye before the feuer coulde be cured, he would for the whyle haue hys most care to ye cure of that thyng, wherin wer most present perill. And when yt wer once out of ieopardye, dooe then the more exact diligence after, about the ferther cure of the feuer.

And likewyse if the shippe wer in perill to falle into Scilla, the feare of falling into Charibdis on the tother syde, shall neuer let any wise maister therof, to draw him fro Scilla toward Charibdis fyrist, in all that euer he maye. But whēn he hath him once so farre away fro Scilla, that he seeth him safe out of that daunger, then will he begin to take good hede, to kepe him wel fro the tother.

And in likewyse, whyle this man is falling downe to despayre, and to the finall destruccion of himselfe, a good wyse spiritual leche, wil fyrist looke vnto that, and by good comfort lift vp his courage, and whēn he seeth that peril wel past, care for ye cure of his other fautes after. Howbeit euen in the geuing of his coūmfort, he may find wayes inough, in such wise to temper his woordes, yt the man may take occasion of good courage, and yet far from occasion geuing of new residiuacion into his former sinne: sith the great part of his counsayle shalbe, to courage him to amendment: and that is perdie farre fro falling vnto sinne agayne.

¶ *Vincent.* I thinke vncle, that folke fall into this vngracious mind, thorow the deuils temptation, by many moe menes then one. ¶ *Anthony.* That is (cosin) very true. For ye deuill taketh his occasions, as he seeth them fall mete for him. Some he styrreth to it for werines of themselfe after some greate losse, some for feare of horrible bodilye harme. And some (as I sayd) for feare of worldly shame.

One wist I my selfe, yt had been long reputed for a righte honest man, whiche was fallēn in such a fantasy, that he was wel nere worne away therwt. But what he was tempted to dooe,

yt wold he not tel no man. But he tolde vnto me, yt he was sore cumbred, and that it alwaye ranne in his mind yt folkes fantasies wer fallen from him, and that they esteemed not his wit as they were woont to dooe, but euer his mynde gaue him, that the people began to take him for a foole. And folke of trouth nothing so did at all, but reputed him both for wise and honest.

Twoo other knew I that wer merueilous feard, that they should kil themself, and could tell me no cause wherfore they so feared it, but onely that theyr own mind so gaue them. Neither losse had they any had, nor no such thing toward them, nor none occasiōn of any worldly shame, the tone in body verye well liking and lustye, but woonderous werye were they bothe twayne of that mynde. And alway they thought that dooe it they woulde not for no thing. And neuertheles euen thei feared they shold, and wherfore they so feared, neither of them both could tell. And the tone, lest he should doo it, desired his frēndes to bind him. ¶ *Vincent.* This is vncle, a merueylous strange maner.

¶ *Anthony.* Forsoothe cosyn, I suppose manye of them are in thys case. The deuyll, as I sayde before, seeketh hys occasions. For as Saynt Peter saith. *Aduersarius vester dyabolus, quasi leo rugiens, circuit querens quem deuoret :* Your aduersary the deuill as a roaring lyon goeth about seking whom he maye deuowre. He marketh well therefore the state and the condicion that euerye man standeth in, not onely concerning these outward thinges, landes, possessions, goodes, authoritie, fame, fauour, or hatered of the worlde: but also mennes complexions within thēm, health, or sicknes, good humours or badde, by whiche they be light hearted or lumpish, strong hearted, or faynt and fieble of spirite, bolde and hardy, or timorous and fearefull of courage. And after as these thinges minister hym matter of temptacion, so vseth he himselfe in the maner of hys tēmpṭacion.

Now likewise as in such folke as are full of young warme lustye bloude, and other humours excyting the fleshe to filthy voluptuous liuing, the deuill vseth to make those thynges hys instrumentes in tempting them and prouoking them therunto, and where he findeth some folke full of hote bloud and choler, he maketh those humours hys instrumentes to set their hearte on fyre in wrath and fierce furious anger: so where he fyndeth some folke, which thorowe some dull melancholious humours, are naturally disposed to feare, he casteth sometime suche a

fearefull yimaginacion in their mynde, that without helpe of God, they can neuer cast it out of their heart.

Some at the sodayne falling of some horrible thoughte into their minde, haue not onely hadde a greate abhominacion thereat (whiche abhominacion they wel and vertuously had therat) but the deuill vsing their melancholious humour, and therby their natural inclinacion to feare, for his instrumente hath caused them to conceiue therewith suche a diepe dreade besyde, that they weene them selfe with that abhominable thought, to bee fallen into such an outrageous sinne, that they be ready to falle into despayre of grace, wening that god hath geuen them ouer for euer. Whereas that thought (were it neuer so horrible and neuer so abhomynable) is yet vnto them that neuer like it but euer stil abhorre it, and striue stil theragaynst, matter of conflict and merite, and not any sinne at all.

Some haue with holdinge a knyfe in their hand, sodaynly thought vpon the killing of themself, and furthwith in diuising what an horrible thing it wer, if they shoulde missehappe so to dooe, haue fallen in a feare that they shoulde so dooe in dede: and haue with long and often thinking theron, imprinted that feare so sore in theyr yimaginacion, that some of them haue not after cast it of without greate difficultie: and some coulde neuer in their lyfe be ridde therof, but haue after in cōclusion miserablye doone it in dede. But lykewyse as where the deuill vseth the bloud of a mannes owne body towarde his purpose in prouoking him to lechery, the man must and dooeth with grace and wisedom resist it: so must that man doe, whose melancholious humours the deuill abuseth, towarde the castynge of such a desperate drede into his heart. ¶ *Vyncent.* I pray you vncle what aduice wer to be geuen him in such case? ¶ *Anthony.* Surely me thinketh his helpe standeth in two thinges, counsayle and prayer. Fyrst as concerning counsayle, lykewyse as it may be that he hath twoo thynges that holde him in his temptation, that is to wit, some euil humours of his own body, and the cursed deuil that abuseth them to his pernicious purpose so must he nede agayn them twayne, the counsell of twoo maner of folke, that is to witte, physicions for the body, and phisicions for the soule. The bodily phisicion shall consider what abundance the man hath of those euil humoures, that the deuill maketh hys instrumentes, in mouyng the man toward that fearefull affeccion, and as well by dyete conuenient, and medicines mete therfore, to resyst them, as by purgacions to dysburden the body of them.

Nor let no man thynke strange, that I would aduise a man to take counsayl of a phisicion for the body, in such a spirituall passyon. For syth the soule and the body be so knytte and ioyned together, that they bothe make betwene them one persone, the dystemperance of either other, engendreth some tyme the distēmperance of both twayne.

And therfore, like as I would aduyse euery man in euery sickenes of the body be shrieuen, and seke of a good spirituall phisicion, the sure healthe of hys soule, which shall not onely serue agaynst perill yt may peraduenture ferther growe by that sickenes, then in the begynning men wold wene wer likely, but the comfort thereof, and goddes fauour encreasing therewith, shall also dooe the bodye good, for which cause the blessed Apostle S. James exhorteth men yt they shall in their bodey sickenes induce the priestes and saith that it shal dooe them good both in body and soule: so wold I sometime aduise some menne in some sickenes of the soule, besyde their spirituall leche, take also some counsel of the phisicion for the body. Some that are wretchedlye disposed, and yet long to be more vicious then they be: go to physcions and poticaries, and enquier what thinges maye serue to make them more lusty to theyr fowle fleshlye delyte. And were it then any foly vpon the tother syde, if he that feeleth himselfe against his will muche moued vnto such vnclemnesse, should enquier of the phisicion, what thinges withoute minishing of his healthe, were mete for the minishmente of suche fowle fleshlye mocion?

Of spirituall counsayle, the fyrste is to be shrieuen, that by reason of hys other sinnes, the deuill haue not the more power vpon him.

¶ *Vyncent.* I haue heard some say (vnkle) that when such folke haue been at shrift, their temptacyon hath been the more brimme vpon them then it was before. ¶ *Anthony.* That thinke I very well, but that is a special token that shrift is holesome for them, whyle the deuill is with that most wroth. You fynd in some places of the ghospel, that the deuil, the persone whom he possessed did most trouble when he saw that Christ wold cast him out. We must els let the deuil dooe what he will, if we feare his anger. For with euery good dede will he waxe angry.

Then is it in his shryfte to be shewed him, that he not onely feareth more then he nedeth: but also feareth where he nedeth not. And ouer that, is sorye of that thing, wherof (but if he will willinglye tourne his good into his harme) he hathe more cause to be glad.

Fyrst if he haue cause to feare, yet feareth he more then he nedeth. For there is no deuill so diligent to destroye him, as God is to preserue him, nor no deuill so nere hym to dooe him harme, as god is to dooe him good: nor all the deuilles in hell so strong to inuade and assawte him, as god is to defende him, if he distrust hym not, but faythfully put his trust in him.

He feareth also where he nedeth not. For where he dredeth that he wer out of Goddes fauour, because suche horrible thoughtes fall in his minde, he must vnderstand that whyle they fall in his mind against his wil, they be not imputed vnto him. He is finally sad of yt he may be glad. For sith he taketh such thoughtes displeasantly, and stryueth and fighteth agaynst them, he hath thereby a good tokēn that he is in goddes fauour, and that God assisteth him and helpeth hym, and may make himself sure, that so wil god neuer cease to dooe, but if himself fayle and fall from him fyrst. And ouer yt, this conflict that he hath against his temptacion, shall (if he will not fall where he nede not) be an occasion of his merite, and of a ryght gret rewarde in heauen. And the Payne that he taketh therin, shal for so much (as master Gerson well sheweth) stand hym in stede of his purgatory.

The maner of the fighte against hys temptacion, must stand in thre thinges, that is to wit, in resistyng, and in contemning, and in the inuocacion of help.

Resist must a man for his own parte with reason, considering what a foly it were to fall where he nede not, while he is not drieuen to it in auoyding of anye other Payne, or in hope of winning any maner of pleasure, but contrarye wyse shoulde by that Payne, lese euerlastynge blysse, and fall into euerlasting payn. And if it were in aduoydying of other greate Payne, yet could he voyde none so great therby, as he should therby fall into.

He must also consider, that a greate part of this temptacion, is in effecte but the feare of his own fantasy, the drede yt he hath lest he shall once be drieuen to it, which thing he may be sure, that (but if himself will of his owne foly,) all the deuilles in hel can neuer drieue him to, but his own foolish ymagination may. For likewyse as some manne going ouer an high bridge, waxeth so feard thorow his owne fantasy, that he falleth downe in dede, which wer els able inough to passe ouer without any danger, and as some man shall vpon such a bridge, if folke call vpōn him, you fall you fall, fall with the fantasy that he taketh therof, which brydge if folke looked merily vpon him, and

sayde, there is no daunger therein, he woulde passe ouer well inough, and woulde not let to runne theron, if it were but a foote fro the ground, thus fareth it in this temptacion. The deuill fyndeth the man of his owne fond fantasy aferd, and then cryeth he in the eare of his hert, thou fallest, thou fallest, and maketh the fonde man afeard, that he shoulde at euerye foote fall in dede. And the deuill so weryeth hym with that continual feare (if he geue the eare of hys hearte vnto him) that at the last he withdraweth his mind from due remembraunce of god, and then driueth him to that dedly mischief in dede. Therfore, like as against the vyce of the flesh, the victory standeth not all whole in the fight, but sometyme also in the flyghte, (sauing that it is in dede a part of a wise warriors fight, to flee from his enemies traynes) so must a man in this temptacion too, not onely resist it alwaye with reasoning thereagaynste, but sometime set it cleare at right nought, and cast it of when it cometh: and not once regard it so muche, as to vouchesafe to thynke theron.

Some folke haue been clearely ridde of such pestilent fantasies, with very ful contempt therof, making a crosse vpon their heartes, and bydding the deuill auaunt, and sometime laugh him to scorn too, and then turne their mind vnto some other matter. And when the deuill hathe seen that they haue set so little by him after certayn assayes, made in such tymes as he thought most mete, he hath geuen that tentacion quyte ouer, both for that the prowde spirite cannot endure to be mocked: and also lest with muche tempting ye man to the sinne, wherto he could not in conclusion bring him, he shoulde much encrease his merite.

The finall fight is, by inuocacion of helpe vnto God, both praying for hymself, and desyring other also to pray for him both poore folke for his almes, and other good folke of their charitie, specially good priestes in that holy sacred seruice of the masse, and not onely theym, but also his owne good Angel, and other holy Sayntes, such as his deuocion specially stand vnto: or if he bee learned, vse then the letany with the holy suffrages that folow which is a prayer in the church of meruelous old antiquitie, not made fyrst (as some wene it were) by that holy man S. Gregory, which opiniōn rose of that that in the time of a gret pestilence in Rome, he caused the whole citie goe in solemne procession therwith, but it was in vse in ye church many yere before Saynt Gregories dayes, as well apereth by the bookes of other holy doctours and sayntes, that wer dead hundredes of

yeres before Saynt Gregory was borne. And holye S. Bernard geueth counsel, that euery man should make suit vnto Angels and sayntes, to praye for him to God, in the thinges that he woulde haue sped at his holy hand. If any man wil sticke at that and saye it nede not, because God can heare vs himself and will also say that it is perillous so to dooe, because they saye we be not so counsayled by no scripture, I will not dyspute the matter here. He that will not dooe it, I lette hym not to leaue it vndone. But yet for mine own part, I will aswel trust to the counsel of S. Bernard, and reken him for as good and as well learned in scripture, as any man that I heare say the contrary. And better dare I ieopard my soule with the soule of S. Bernard, then with his that findeth that faulthe in his doctrine.

Vnto god himself euery good man coūnsayleth to haue recourse aboue all. And in this temptacion, to haue speciall remembrance of Christes passion, and praye him for the honor of his death the groūnd of mannes saluacion, kepe this persone thus tempted fro that damnable death.

Speciall verses may there be drawen oute of the Psalter, against the deuilles wicked temptacions. As for exaumple, *Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius.* And many other, whiche are in suche horrible temptacion to God pleasaunt, and to the deuill verye terrible. But none more terryble nor more odious to the deuill, then the woordes with which our sauiour draue hym away himself: *Vade Sathan.* Nor no prayer more acceptable vnto God, nor more effectual for the matter, then those woordes whiche our sauiour hath taughte vs himselfe. *Ne nos inducas in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo.* And I doubte not by Goddes grace, but he that in suche a temptacion will vse good counsayle and prayer, and kepe himself in good vertuous busines and good vertuous coumpayne, and abyde in the faythfull hope of goddes help, shal haue the trouth of god (as the prophete sayeth in the verse afore rehersed) so coumpasse him aboue with a pauyce, that he shall not nede to dreade this nyghtes feare of this wicked temptacion. And thus will I finishe this piece of the nightes feare. And glad am I that we be passed it, and comen once vnto the day, to those other woordes of the prophete. *A sagitta volante in die.* For me thinketh I haue made it a long night.

¶ *Vincent.* Forsoothe vnkle so haue you, but we haue not slept in it, but been very wel occupyd. But now I fere, yt except you make here a pause tyll you haue dined, you shal kepe your self from your diner ouerlong. ¶ *Anthony.* Nay nay

cosin, for both brake I my fast euen as you came in, and also you shall find this night and this day, like a winter day and a winter night. For as the winter hath shorte dayes and long nightes, so shall you fynde that I made you not this feareful night so long, but I shall make you this lighte courageous day as shorte. And so shall the matter require well of it self in dede. For in these woordes of the prophete. *Scuto circundabitte veritas eius, a sagitta volante in die.* The trouth of god shal cūmpasse thee roūnd about with a pauice, frōm the arow fleing in ye day: I vnderstand ye arow of pride, with which the deuil tēempteth a man, not in the night, that is to wit, in tribulacion and aduersitie, for that tyme is to dyscomfortable and too fearefull for prydē, but in the day, that is to wit, in prosperitie. For that time is full of lightsome lust and courage. But surely this worldlye prosperitie (wherin a man so reioyceth, and wherof the deuill maketh him so proud) is but euen a very short winter day. For we begin, many full poore and cold, and vp we flye like an arow that wer shot vp into ye ayer. And yet when we be sodaynly shot vp into the highest, ere we be wel warm there, down we come vnto ye cold groūnd agayn, and then euen there sticke we still. And yet for the shorte whyle yt we be vpward and aloft, lord howe lusty and howe proude we be, buzzing aboue busily, like as a bumble bee flieth about in summer, neuer ware that she shall dye in winter. And so fare many of vs god help vs. For in ye short winter day of worldly wealth and prosperitie, this flying arow of ye deuil this high spirite of prydē, shot out of the deuils bowe, and persing thorow our hert, beareth vs vp in our affeccion aloft into the cloudes, where we wene we sitte on the rayne bowe, and ouerlooke the worlde vnder vs, accouñting in the regard of our owne glorye, suche other poore soules as were peraduenture woonte to be our felowes, for sely poore pissemeres and antes.

But this arow of prydē flieth neuer so high in the clowdes, and be the man yt it carrieth vp so high, neuer so ioyfull therof, yet let him remember yt be this arow neuer so lighte, it hath yet an heauye yron head, and therfore flye it neuer so hygh, downe must it nedes comes, and on the ground must it light, and falleth somtime not in a very clenly place, but the prydē turneth into rebuke and shame, and there is then all the glory gone.

Of this arowe speaketh the wise man in the v. Chapter of Sapience, where he saith in the persone of thēm that in prydē and vanitie passed the tyme of thys presente life, and after yt so spente, passed hence into hel. *Quid profuit nobis superbia, aut*

diuitiarum iactāntia quid contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tanqām umbra etc, aut tanquām sagitta emissā in locūm destinatūm, diuisus aer continuo in se reclusus est, vt ignoretur transitus illius. Sic et nos nati continuo desiuimus esse, et virtutis quidēm nullūm signum valuimus ostendere, in malignitate autem nostra consumpti sumus. Talia dixerunt in inferno hi qui peccauerunt: What hath pride profited vs? or what good hath ye glorye of our riches doone vnto vs? Passed are all those thinges like a shadowe etc. or lyke an arow shot out into ye place appoynted, the ayer yt was diuided, is by and by returned into ye place, and in such wise closed together again, yt the way is not perceued in which ye arow went. And in likewise we as soone as we were borne, be by and by vanished away, and haue left no token of any good vertue behind vs, but are cōsumed and wasted and come to nought in our malygnitie. They lo yt haue liued here in sinne such woordes haue they spoken whēn they lay in hel. Here shal you (good cosin) cōsider, yt wheras ye scripture here speketh of ye arow shot into his place appoynted or entēded; in the shooting of this arowe of prude, ther be diuers purposinges and apoyntinges. For ye proude man himself hath no certain purpose or appointmēnt, at anye mark, butte, or pricke vpōn erth, wherat he determineth to shoote, and there to sticke and tary, but euer he shoteth as children dooe, yt loue to shoote vp a coppe high, to se how high their arow can flye vp. But now doth ye deuil entend and apoynte a certain pricke surely sette in a place, into which he purposeth (flye this arowe neuer so high, and the proude heart therōn) to haue thēm light both at last. And yt place is in the very pitte of hell. There is set the deuils wel acquaynted pricke, and his very iust marke, downe vpōn which pricke with his pricking shaft of prude, he hath by himself a playn prooфе and experiance, that (but if it be stopped by some grace of god in the waye) the soule yt flyeth vp therwith, can neuer fayle to fall. For when himselfe was in heauen and began to flye vp a cop hygh, with ye lustye light flight of pride, saying. *Ascendām super astra, et ponam solium meum ad latera Aquilonis, et ero similis altissimo:* I will flye vp aboue ye starres, and set my trone on the sides of ye north and wilbe like vnto the highest. Long ere he could flye vp halfe so high as he sayde in his heart he would, he was turned from a bright glorious angel, into a darke deformed deuill, and from flying any ferther vpward, down was he throwen into the diepe dungeon of hell. Now may it peraduēture cosin, seme, that sith this kind of temptation of pride is no tribulacion or payn:

all this that we speke, of this arow of pryde, flying furth in the daye of prosperitie, wer besyde our matter. ¶ *Vyncent.* Verely mine vncle, and so semed it vnto me, and sumwhat was I mynnded so to say to you too, sauing yt were it properly perteyning to ye present matter, or sumwhat disgressing therfro: good matter me thought it was, and such as I hadde no lust to let. ¶ *Anthony.* But nowe must you cosin consider, that though prosperity be cōtrary to tribulacion, yet vnto many a good man the deuils tēmptacion vnto pride in prosperitie, is a greter tribulaciōn, and more neede hath of good conforte and good coūsel both, then he yt neuer felt it, wold wene. And yt is ye thing, cosin, yt maketh me speake thereof, as of a thing proper to this mater. For (cosin) as it is a thing right hard, to touch pitch, and neuer fyle ye fingers, to put flexe vnto fyre, and yet kepe thēm fro burning, to kepe a serpent in thy bosome, and yet be safe fro stinging, to put young men wt young weomen, without dānger of foule fleshly desire, so is it hard for any person either man or woman, in gret worldly welth and much prosperitie, so to withstand ye suggestions of ye deuil, and occasions geuen by the worlde, yt they kepe thēmself from ye dedly desire of ambitious glory. Wherupōn ther foloweth (if a man fall thereto) an whole floud of all vnhappy mischief, arrogānt maner, high solayn solemne port, ouerlooking ye poore in woord and countenance, displesant and disdaynous behaueour, rauine, extorcion, oppres-sion, hatred and crueltie. Now many a good man, cosin, comen into great autoritie, casting in his mind ye peril of such occasions of pride, as the deuill taketh of prosperitie to make hys instrumēntes of, wherwith to moue menne to such high poynt of presūmpcion as ingendreth so many gret inconueniēnces, and feeling ye deuil therwt offring to thēmselfe suggestions therunto, they be sore troubled therwith, and some fall so fearde therof, yt euen in the day of prosperitie, they fall into ye nightes fere of pusillanimitie, and douting ouer much lest they shold misseuse themself, leue ye thinges vndoone wherin they might vse thēmself well, and mistrusting the ayde and helpe of god, in holding them vpright in their tēmptacions, geue place to ye deuil in the contrary temptacion, wherby for faint hert they leauē of good busynes wherin thei wer wel occupied: and vnder pretext (as it semeth to thēm self) of humble hert and mekenes, and seruing god in cōtemplacion and silence, they seke their own ease and earthly rest vnware, wherwith (if it so be) god is not well content. Howbeit if it so be, yt a man fele himselfe such in dede, as by thexperience yt he hath of himself, he perceiueth that in welth and authoritie

he doth his own soule harme, and can not dooe therin the good that to his parte apperteineth: but seeth ye thinges that he should set his handes to sustayn, decaye thorow his default and fall to ruine vnder him, and that to th'amendment thereof, he ieueth his own duetie vndoone. Then wold I in any wise aduise him to leauue of that thing, be it spirituall benefice yt he haue, personage, or bishoprich, or tēmporal rowm and authoritie, and rather geue it ouer quite, and draw himself aside and serue God, then take the worldlye worship and commoditie for himselfe, wt incommoditie of them whōm his duetie wer to profit. But on ye tother side if he see not the contrary, but that he may dooe his duetie conueniently wel, and feareth nothing but that ye temptacions of ambicion and pride maye peraduenture turne his good purpose, and make hym decline vnto sinne, I say not naye but that wel doone it is to stānd in moderate feare alway. Wheroft ye scripture saith. *Beatus homo qui semper est pauidus*: Blessed is ye mān that is alway feareful, and S. Paule sayth: *Qui stat, videat ne cadat*. He that standeth, let hym looke that he fall not, yet is ouer muche feare perillous, and draweth towarde the mistrust of gods gracious helpe, which immoderate feare and faint hert holy scripture forbiddeth saying: *Noli esse pusillanimis*, be not fieble hearted or timorous. Lette such a mān therfore tēmper his fere with good hope, and think that sith God hath set him in that place (if he think yt God haue set him therin) God wil assist him wt his grace to ye wel vsing therof. Howbeit, if he came therto by simony, or sōme such other euyll mene, then wer ye thing one good reason, wherfore he shold ye rather leue it of, but els let him continue in his good busines, and against ye deuil's prouocaciōn vnto euyl, blesse himself and call vnto God and pray, and loke what thing the deuil tēmpteth him to lene the more toward the contrarye.

Let him be pitteous and comfortable to those that are in distresse and affliccion. I mene not, to let euery malefactor passe furth vnpunished, and frely rūnne out and rob at rouers, but in his heart be sory to see, that of necessitie for feare of decayng ye cōmon wele mēn are drieuen to put malefactors to pain. And yet where he fyndeth good tokens and likelihod of amendment, therein all that he may, help that mercy may be had. There shal neuer lacke desperately disposed wretches inow beside, vpon whōm for ensaūmple iustice may procede. Let him thinke in his own heart, euery poore begger his felowe. ¶ *Vincent*. That wil be very hard (vnkle) for an honorable man to do, when he beholdeth him self richly appareled and ye

beggar rygged in his ragges. ¶ *Anthony*. If here wer (cosin), two men yt wer beggers both, and afterward a gret rich man wolde take yet one vnto him, and tell him yt for a little time he wold haue him in his house, and therupon arayed him in silke, and geue him a greate bagge by his syde, filled euēn full of gold; but geuing him this knot therwith that within a litle while, out he shold in his old ragges again, and bere neuer a peny with him: if this begger mette his felow now while his gay gowne were on, might he not for al his gay geare, take him for his felow stil? and wer he not a very foole, if for a welth of a fewe wekes, he wold wene himself far his better? ¶ *Vincent*. Yes vncle, if the difference of theyr state were none other. ¶ *Anthony*. Surely (cosin) me thinketh, that in this world betwene the richest and the most poore, the difference is scant so muche. For let the highest looke on the most base, and consider how poore they came both into this world, and thān consider ferther therwith, how rych soeuer he be now he shal yet within a while peraduenture lesse then one weke, walk out agayn as poore as that begger shal, and then by my trouth me thinketh this rich man much more then mad, if for ye welth of a little while, happelye lesse then one weke, he recken himself in earnest anye better then the beggers felow. And lesse then thus can no man thinke, that hath any natural wit and well vseth it.

But nowe a christen man, cosin, that hath the lighte of fayth, he cannot fayle to thinke in this thyng muche farther. For he will thynke, not only vpon hys bare coming hither, and his bare going hence again, but also vpon the dredefull iudgement of God, and vpon the fearefull paines of hell, and the inestimable ioyes of heauen. And in the considering of these thinges, he will call to remembraunce, that peraduenture when thys begger and he be both departed hēnce, the begger may be sodainely set vp in such royltie, that wel were himself that euer was he born, if he might be made his felow. And he yt well bethinketh hym (cosin) vpon these thinges, I verely thinke that ye arowe of pride flying furth in the day of worldly welth, shall neuer so wōund his hert, that euer it shall beare him vp one foote. But now to thentent he may thinke on suche thinges the better, let him vse often to resort to confession and there open his hert, and by the mouth of some verteous gostly father, haue suche thinges oft renued in his remembraunce.

Lette hym also choose hymselfe some secrete solitary place in his owne house, as farre fro noyse and coumpanye as he conuenientlye can, and thither let hym some time secretlye resort

alone, ymagineing hymselfe as one goyng oute of the worlde euen straigchte vnto the geuing vp hys reckonyng vnto God of hys synfull liuynge. Then lette hym there before an aultare or some pittifull ymage of Chrystes bytter passiōn (the beholding wherof may putte him in remembrance of the thyng, and mooue hym to deuoute compassion) knele downe or falle prostrate as at the feete of almyghty God, verelye belieuing hym to be there inuisiblye present as without anye doubte he is. There let him open hys heart to god, and confesse his faultes suche as he can call to mind, and praye God of forgeuenes. Lette hym call to remembraunce the benefites that God hath geuen hym, either in generall among other menne, or priuately to hymselfe, and geue hym humble heartly thankes therfore. There let hym declare vnto God the temptacions of the deuyll, the suggestyons of the flesh, th'occasions of the worlde, and of his worldly frendes, much worse many tymes in drawyng a man from God, thān are his most mortal enemies, which thyng our sauiour witnesseth hymselfe, where he sayth, *Inimici hominis domestici eius*: The enemyes of a manne, are they that are hys owne familiars. There lette hym lamente and bewayle vnto God, hys owne frayletie, neglygence, and slouth in resystyng and withstandyng of temptacyon, hys readinesse and pronitie to fall thereunto. There lette him lamentablye beseche God of hys gracyous ayde and helpe, to strength hys infyrmie withal, both in keping hym fro fallyng, and when he by hys owne fault missefortuneth to falle, than with the helpynge hande of his mercifull grace, to lyfte hym vp and sette hym on his fete in the state of hys grace agayne. And lette thys man not doubte, but that god heareth hym and graunteth hym, gladlye hys boon. And so dwellynge in the faythefull truse of Goddes helpe, he shall well vse hys prosperitie, and perseuer in hys good profitable busynesse, and shall haue therein, the trouthe of GODDE so coumpasse hym aboute with a pauice of his heauenlye defence, that of the deuilles arrow flying in the day of worldly wealth, he shall not nede to drede. ¶ *Vyncent*. Forsooth vncle, I like this good counsayle well, and I woulde wene that such as are in prosperitie and take such order therin, may dooe both to themself and other folke about much good. ¶ *Anithony*. I beseche our lorde (cosin) put this and better, in the mind of euerye man that nedeth it. And nowe will I touche one woord or twayn of the third temptation, whereof the Prophete speaketh in these woordes. *A negotio perambulante in tenebris*, from the busines walking in the darkenesses, and then will we call for our dyner,

leauing the last temptacion, that is to witte, *ab incursu et demonio meridiano*, from the incursion and the deuill of the middaye, till after noone, and then shall we therwith (God willing) make an ende of all thys matter.

¶ *Vyncent*. Our lord reward you good vnkle, for youre good labour with me. But for our lordes sake take good hede vnkle, that you forbeare not youre diner ouerlong. ¶ *Anthony*. Feare not that cosin, I warrant you: for thys piece wil I make you but short.

¶ *Of the deuill named Negotium perambulans in tenebris, that is to wit, busines walking in the darkenesse*

¶ THE XVII. CHAPITER

THE Prophete sayth in the said Psalme. *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione dei celi commorabitur. Scuto circundabit te veritas eius, non timebis etc.* *A negotio perambulante in tenebris*: He yt dwelleth in ye faithful hope of goddes helpe, he shall abyde in the protection or saueguard of God of heauen. And thou yt art such one, shall the trouth of him so cumpasse about, with a pauice, that thou shalt not be afeard of the busines walking aboute in the darkenesse.

Negotium is here (cosin) the name of a deuill, that is euer ful of busines, in tempting folke to muche euill busines. Hys tyme of temptyng is in the darkenesse. For you wotte well, that besyde the very full nyght, whiche is the diepe darke, there are two times of darkenesse: the tone ere the morning waxe lyght, the tother when the euening waxeth darke.

Two times of like maner darkenesse are ther also in the soule of man, the tone ere the lyght of grace be wel in the heart sprongen vp: the tother, when the lighte of grace oute of the soule beginneth to walke fast away.

In these two darkenesse, this deuill that is called busines, busily walketh about, and such fond folke as will folow him, he carieth about with hym, and setteth them a worke with manye maner bumbling busines.

He setteth (I say) some to seeke the plesures of the fleshe, in eating, drinking, and other filthye delite. And some he setteth about incessant seking for these worldly goodes. And of such busy folke whom this deuill called busines, walkynge about in the darkenesse, setteth a worke with such busines, our sauior

sayth in the ghospell. *Qui ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadit:* He that walketh in darkenesse, woteth not whither he goeth. And surely in suche case are they. They neither wotte which waye they goe, nor whither. For verily they walke roūnd about as it were in a round mase, when they wene themselfe at an ende of their busines, they be but at the beginning agayn. For is not the going about the seruing of the flesh, a busines that hath none ende, but euermore from the end cometh to the begynning agayn? goe they neuer so full fedde to bedde, yet euermore on the morow, as newe be they to be fedde agayne, as they wer the day before.

Thus fareth it by the bellye: thus fareth it by those partes that are beneath the belly. And as for couetice fareth like the fier: the more wood that cometh therto, ye more feruent and the more gredy it is.

But now hath this mase a centre, or a middle place, into whiche somtyme they be conueyed sodaynly, when they wene they wer not yet farre fro the brink.

The centre or myddle place of thys mase is hell, and into that place, be these busy folke, that with this deuill of busines walk about in this busy mase in the darkenesse, sodainly sometime conueyed, nothing ware whither they be going and euen while they wene that they wer not far walked fro the begynnyng, and that they had yet a great waye to walke aboute, before they shoulde come to the ende. But of these fleshly folke walking in this busy pleasaunte mase, the scripture declarereth the end. *Ducunt in bonis dies suos et in punto ad inferna descendunt:* They leade theyr life in pleasure, and at a poppe, down they descende into hell.

Of the couetous menne sayeth Saynte Paule, *Qui volunt diuites fieri, incident in temptationem, et in laqueūm diaboli, et desideria multa inutilia et nocua, que mergunt homines in interitum et perditionēm.* They that long to be ryche, dooe fall into temptation, and into the grinne of the deuyll, and into manye desyres vnprofitable and harmefull, which drownd mēn into death and into destruccion.

Loe, here is the middle place of this bisye mase, the grinne of the deuill, the place of perdition and destruccion, that they fall and be caughte and drowened in ere they be ware.

The couetous riche man also that our sauour speaketh of in the ghospell, that hadde so great plentie of corne that hys barnes would not receiue it, but entended to make hys barnes larger, and sayde vnto hymselfe that he woulde make mery

many dayes, had went, you wot wel, that he had hadde a greate waye yet to walke. But God sayde vnto hym: *Stulte, hac nocte tollent a te animam tuam, que autem parasti, cuius erunt?* Foole, this night shal they take thy soule from the, and then al this good that thou hast gathered, whose shal it be? Here you see that he fell sodeynlye into the diepe centre of thys buisye mase, so that he was fallen full therin, long ere euer he had went he shoulde haue come nere therto.

Now this wot I very well, that those that are walking aboue in this buisye mase, take not theyr buysines for anye tribulacion. And yet are there manye of them foreweryed as sore, and as sore panged, and payned therein, theyr plesures being so short, so little, and so fewe, and theyr displesures and their grieves so gret, so continuall, and so manye, that it maketh me thinke vpon a good woorshipfull man, which whēn he diuers times beheld his wife, what payn she tooke in strayte binding vp her heere, to make her a fair large forehed, and with strayte bracing in her body, to make her midle smalle, both twayne to her gret Payne, for the prydē of a little foolish prayse, he said vnto her: Forsooth madame, if God geue you not hell, he shall dooe you great wrong. For it must nedes bee youre owne of verye right: for you bye it verye dere, and take very great Payne therfore.

They that nowe lye in hell for theyr wretched liuing here, dooe now perceiue their folye, in the more Payne that they tooke here for the lesse plesure. There cōfesse they now theyr foly and crye out. *lassati sumus in via iniquitatis:* We haue been weryed in the way of wickednes. And yet whyle they wer walking therin, they wold not rest thēmself, but rūnne on stil in their wierines, and put thēmself still vnto more payn and more, for ye little pieuish plesure shorte and soone gone, that they tooke al that labor and payn for, beside the euerlasting Payne that folowed it, for their ferther aduantage after. So help me god and none other wise, but as I verelye thinke, yt manye a man byeth hell here with so much payn, that he might haue bought heauen with lesse then ye tone half. But yet, as I say, while these fleshly and worldly bisy folke, are walking about in this rounde bisye mase of this deuill yt is called bisines, yt walketh about in these two times of darknes, their wittes are so by the secrete inchauntment of the deuill bewitched, that they marke not ye greate long miserable werines and Payne, that the deuill maketh thēm take and endure about nought, and therfore they take it for no tribulacion, so yt they nede no comfort. And

therfore is it not for their sakes yt I speake all this, sauing that it may serue thēm for counsayl, toward ye perceiving of their own foolish misery, thorow the good help of Goddes grace, beginning to shine vpon them agayn. But there are very good folke and verteous, yt are in the day light of grace, and yet because the deuil tempteth them bisily to such fleshlye delite: and sith they see plenty of worldlye substaunce fall vnto them, and fele the deuill in likewise bisilye tempte them to set their heart therupon, they be sore troubled therwith, and begyn to feare therby, yt they be not with god in the light, but with this deuill that ye prophete calleth *Negotium*, that is to say, bisynes walking about in the two tymes of darkenesse.

Howbeit as I said before, of those good folke and gracious, that are in the worldly welth of great power and autoritie, and therby feare the deuils arowe of pryd, so say I nowe here agayne, of these that stand in drede of fleshlye fowle sinne and couetice, sith they be but tempted therewith and folow it not, albeit yt they do well to stānd euer in moderate feare, lest with waxing ouer bold, and setting ye thing ouer light, thei might per aduenture mishap to fall in thereto, yet sore to vexe and trouble thēmself with the feare of losse of gods fauour therfore, is without necessitie, and nat alway without peril. For as I said before, it withdraweth ye mind of a man farre fro spiritual consolacion, of ye good hope that he shold haue in goddes helpe. And as for those temptacyons, whyle he that is tempted foloweth theym not, the fighte agaynst them serueth a man for matter of merite and reward in heauen, if he not onely flee the dede, the consent, and the delectacion, but also in that he conueniently may, flee from all occasions therof. And this poynte is in those fleshly temptacions, a thing ethē to perceiue and metely playn inough. But in these worldly busines perteynyng vnto couetice, therein is the thyng somewhat more darke, and in the perceuyng more difficultie. And verye great troubelous feare doogeth there oftentimes aryse therof, in the heartes of very good folke, whēn the world falleth fast vnto them, because of the sore woordes and terrible threttes that God in holye scripture speaketh agaynst those that are ryche. As where Saynt Paule sayeth: *Qui volunt diuities fieri, incident in tentationem et in laqueum diaboli*: They that will be ryche fall into temptation, and into the grygne of the deuill. And where our Sauiour sayeth hymselfe, *Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire, quam diui tem intrare in regnum dei*. It is more easy for a Camell (or as some saye) for *Camelus* so signifyeth in the Greke tonge) for

a gret cable rope, to goe thorowe a nedles eye, then for a ryche manne to enter into the kingdome of god.

No merueile now though good folke that feare God, take occasion of greate drede at so dredefull woordes, when they see the worldye goodes fall to them. And some stande in doubte, whether it be lyefull for them to kepe any good or no. But euermore in al those places of scripture, the hauing of the worldye goodes is not the thinge that is rebuked and threatened, but the affeccion that the hauer vnlyefullie beareth therto. For where S. Paule sayeth: *Qui volunt divites fieri etc.* they that will be made ryche, he speaketh not of the hauing, but of the will and the desyre and affeccion to haue, and the longing for it. For that cannot bee lightelye withoute sinne. For the thynge that folke sore long for, they wil make many shifte to geatte, and iepard themselfe therfore. And to declare that the hauing of riches is not forboden, but the inordinate affeccion of the mind sore sette therupon, the Prophete sayth: *Divitie si affluent, nolite cor apponere.* If riches flowe vnto you, set not your heart therupon. And albeit that our Lorde by the sayde ensaumple of the Camell or cable rope to come thorow the nedles eye, sayde that it is not only hard, but also impossible for a rych man to entre into the kingdome of heauen, yet he declared, that though the rich man cannot geatte into heauen of hymselfe, yet God he sayde can geatte hym in well ynough. For vnto men he sayde it was impossible, but not vnto GOD. For vnto GOD (he sayde) all thynges are possible. And yet ouer that, he tolde of whiche maner ryche men he meante, that could not geatte into the kyngdom of heauen, saying. *Filioli, quam difficile est confidentes in pecuniis in regnum Dei introire.* My babes, howe harde is it for theim that put their trust and confidence in their moneye, to entre into the kyngdome of God.

¶ *Vyncent.* Thys is I suppose (vnkle) very trewe, and elles God forbydde. For elles wer the worlde in a full hard case, if euery ryche man were in suche daunger and peryll.

¶ *Anthony.* That were it cosin in dede: and so I wene is it yet. For I feare me that to the multitude there be very few, but that they long sore to be ryche, and of those that so long to be: very fewe reserued also, but that they set theyr heart verye sore theron.

¶ *Vyncent.* This is (vnkle I feare me) verye trewe, but yet not the thyng that I was aboute to speake of. But the thyng that I would haue sayde was thys, that I cannot well perceiue (the world being such as it is, and so manye poore people therein)

howe anye man maye be ryche and keepe hym ryche withoute daunger of damnacyon therefore. For all the whyle that he seeth poore people so many that lacke whyle hymselfe hath to geue theym, and whose necessitie (whyle he hath therewith) he is bounden in suche case of duetie to relieue, so farre furthe that holye Saynt Ambrose sayeth, that who so that dye for defaulte where we myght helpe them, we kyll them, I cannot see, but that euery ryche man hathe greate cause to stande in greate feare of damnacion. Nor I cannot perceiue, as I saye, howe he can bee deliuered of that feare, as long as he kepeth hys riches. And therfore though he might kepe hys riches if there lacked poore menne, and yet stande in Goddes fauour therwith, as Abraham didde and manye an other holy ryche man synce, yet in such abundaunce of poore men as there be nowe in euery countrey, anye man that kepeth anye riches, it must nedes bee that he hath an inordinate affeccion therunto, whyle he geueth it not oute vnto the poore nedye persones, that the duetie of charitie byndeth and strayneth hym too. And thus (vnkle) in this worlde at thys daye, me semeth your comfort vnto good menne that are riche, and troubled with feare of damnacion for the kepinge, can very scanty serue.

¶ *Anthony.* Hard is it (cosin) in many maner thinges, to bid or forbyd, affirme or denye, repreoue or allow, a mater nakedlye proponed and put furth, or precisely to saye thys thinge is good, or thys thinge is naughte, withoute consideracion of the circumstaunces.

Holye Sayncte Austyne telleth of a physition, that gaue a man a medicyne in a certayne dysease, that holpe hym. The selfe same manne at an other tyme in the selfsame dysease, tooke the selfsame medicyne hymselfe, and hadde thereof more harme then good, which thing whēn he shewed vnto the physicion, and asked him wherof ye harm shoulde happe: that medicine quod he, did thee no good but harm because thou tookest it whēn I gaue it thee not. This aunswere S. Austine very wel alloweth. For that though the medicine wer one, yet might ther be peraduēture in the sickenes, some such difference, as the pacient perceiued not: yea or in the man himself, or in ye place, or the tyme of the yere, many thinges might make the let, for which the physicion woulde not then haue geuen him the self same medicine that he gaue him before.

To peruse euery circūmstance yt might (cosin) in this matter be touched, and were to be considered and wayed, would in dede make this part of this deuill of buisines a very buisy piece of

woorke and a long. But I shall a little open the poynt yt you speake of, and shal shew you what I thinke therin, with as few woordes as I conueniently canne, and then will we goe to diner.

Firste (cosin) he that is a riche man and kepeth all his good, he hath I thinke very good cause to be very fearde in dede. And yet I feare me yt such folke feare it least. For they be very farre fro ye state of good menne, sith if they kepe still all, then are they verye farre fro charitie, and dooe (you wot well) almes either little or none at all.

But now is our question (cosin) not in what case that ryche man standeth yt kepeth all: but whether we should suffer men to stand in a perilous drede and feare, for ye keping of any grāt parte. For if yt be the keping still of so much as maketh a riche man still, they stande in the state of damnacion, then are the curates boünden plainly to tell them so, according to the commaundement of god geuen vnto them all in the persone of Ezechiell. *Si dicente me ad impium morte morieris, non annunciaueris ei etc:* If, when I say to the wicked man, Thou shalt dye, thou dooe not shew it vnto him, nor speake vnto him that he may be turned from his wicked waye, and may liue, he shal soothly dye in his wickednes and his bloude shall I require of thyne hand. But cosin, though god inuited mēn vnto the folowing of himselfe in wilfull pouertie, by the leauing of altogether at once for his sake, as the thyng whereby (with being out of ye solicitude of worldlye buisynes, and farre fro the desyre of ertly commodities) they may the more spedely geat and atteyne the state of spirituall perfeccion, and the hungrye desyre and longing for celestiall thinges, yet dooeth he not commaund euery man so to dooe vpon ye perill of dāmnacion. For where he saith. *Qui non renunciauerit omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus:* He that forsaketh not all that euer he hath, cannot be my disciple, he declarereth well by other woordes of his own in the selfsame place a lyttle before, what he meaneth. For there saith he more: *Si quis venit ad me, et non odit patrem suum, et matrem, et vxorem, et filios et fratres, et sorores, adhuc autem et animam suam nōn potest meus esse discipulus:* He that cummeth to me, and hateth not his father, and his mother, and his wyfe, and his children, and his brethren, and his sisters, yea and his own life too, cannot be my disciple. Here meneth our sauour Christ, that none can be his disciple, but if he loue him so farre aboue al his kinne, and aboue his owne life too, yt for the loue of him rather then to forsake him, he shall forsake thēm all. And so meaneth he by those other woordes, that who soeuer dooe not

so renounce and forsake all that euer he hath in his owne heart and affeccion, that he will rather lese it all and let it go euery whit, then dedly displease god with the reseruing of any one parte thereof, he cannot be Christes disciple, sith Christe teacheth vs to loue God aboue all thyng. And he loueth not god aboue all thyng, that contrarye to goddes pleasure, kepeth anye thing that he hath. For that thing he sheweth hymself to sette more by then by God, whyle he is better contente to leese God then it. But as I sayd, to geue away all, or that no manne shoulde be ryche or haue substaunce, that fynde I no commaundement of. There are as our sauour saith, in the house of his father, many mansyons. And happye shall he bee, that shall haue the grace to dwelle euen in the loweste.

It semeth verelye by the gospell, that those whiche for Goddes sake paciently suffer penurye, shall not onely dwell aboue those in heauen that lyue here in plentye in earth, but also that heauen in some maner of wyse more properlye belongeth vnto them, and is more speciallye prepared for them, then it is for the ryche, by that that God in the ghospell counsayleth the ryche folke to bye in a maner heauen of them, where he sayeth vnto the ryche menne. *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, vt cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in eterna tabernacula:* Make you frendes of the wicked riches, that when you fayle here they may receyue you into euerlastyng tabernacles.

But nowe although this be thus, in respecte of the rychesse and the pouerty compared together, yet they being good menne bothe, there maye be some other vertue besyde, wherein the ryche manne maye so peraduenture excelle, that he may in heauen be farre aboue that poore man, that was here in earth in other vertues farre vnder hym, as the prooфе appeareth cleare in Lazarus and Abraham.

Nor I saye not this, to the intente to coumfort ryche menne in heapyng vppe of richesse. For a little coumfort, is bent ynough therto for them. They be not so prowde hearted and obstinate, but that they woulde I weene to that counsayle, be with righte lyttle exhortacyon verye conformable. But I saye thys for those good men, to whom God geueth substance, and the mynd to dispose it wel, and yet not the mynd to geue it al away at once, but for good causes to kepe some substance stil, shoulde not dispayre of Goddes fauour, for the not doing of the thing which god hath geuen them no commaundemente of, nor drawnen by anye speciall callyng therunto.

Zacheus loe that clymed vp into the tree, for desyre that he

had to beholde our sauiour at such time as Christ called aloud vnto him and sayd: Zacheus make hast and come downe, for this day must I dwel in thy house, was so gladde therof, and so touched inwardly with speciall grace to the profite of hys soule, that wheras all the people murmured much that Christe woulde call him, and be so familiare with hym, as of hys owne offer to come vnto his house, consideryng that they knewe him for the chiefe of the Publicanes, that were customers or toll gatherers of the Emperoures dueties, all whiche whole company wer among the people sore infamed of rauin, entorcion, and brybery, and then Zacheus not only the chiefe of ye felowshyp but also growen greatly riche, whereby the peple accoūmpted him in their own opinion for a man very sinfull and naught, he furthwith by thinstinct of ye spirite of god, in reproche of all such temerarious bold and blind iudgement, geuēn vpon a mān whose inward mind and sodain change they cannot see, shortly proued thēm al deceiued, and that our lord had at those fewe woordes outwardlye spoken to him, so wrought in his heart wtin, that whatsoeuer he was before, he was then vnware vnto thēm al, sodainly waxen good. For he made hast and came down, and gladlye receyued Christ, and sayd: Lo lord ye tone half of my good here I geue vnto poore people. And yet ouer yt, if I haue in anye thyng deceiued anye man, here am I readye to recompence him fowre fold as much. ¶ *Vyncent.* This was (vnkle) a gracious hearing: But yet I meruayle me somewhat, wherfore Zacheus vsed his woordes in yt maner of order. For me thinketh he shold first haue spoken of making restitucion vnto those whōm he had begyled and then speke of geuēn his almes after. For restitucion is (you wot wel) duetie, and a thing of such necessitie, that in respect of restitucion, almes dede is but volūntary. Therfore it might seme, that to put men in mind of their duetie in making restitucion fyrst, and dooing their almes after, Zacheus shoulde haue sayde more conueniently, if he hadde sayd•fyrst, that he woulde make euery man restitucion whom he hadde wronged, and then geue halfe in almes of that that remayned after. For only that myght he call clerely his owne.

¶ *Anthonie.* This is true (cosyn) where a man hath not inough to suffise for both, but he yt hath, is not boūden to leaue hys almes vngeuen to the poore man, that is at his hand, and peraduenture calleth vpon him, till he goe seke vp all his creditors, and all those that he hath wronged so farre peraduenture a sunder, yt leauing ye tone good dede vndoone the whyle, he may before they come together, chaunge that good mynde

agayne, and dooe neither the tone nor ye tother. It is good alway to be dooing some good out of hande, while we thinke theron, grace shal ye better stande with vs and encrease also, to goe the ferther in the tother after.

And this I aunswere, if the man had there doone the tone out of hande, the geuing I meane halfe in almes, and not so much as speake of restitucion, tyll after whereas nowe though he spake the tone in order before the tother, and yet all at one time, the thing remained stil in his libertie to put them bothe in execucion, after such order as he sholde then thinke expedient. But now cosin, did the spirit of God temper the tongue of Zacheus in the vtterance of these woordes in such wise as it maye well appeare the saying of the wise man to be verifyed in theim: where he sayeth: *Domini est gubernare linguam*: To god it belongeth to gouern ye tongue. For here when he saide, he woulde geue halfe of his whole good vnto poore people and yet beside that, not only recompēnce anye man whom he hade wronged, but more then recompence hym by three tymes as muche agayne, he double reprooued the false suspicion of the people, that accoumpted him for so euil, that they rekened in their mynde all his good gotten in effecte with wronge, because he was growen to substance in that office, that was commonly misseused extorsiously. But his woordes declared that he was diepe ynoch in hys rekenyng, that yf halfe his good wer geuen away, yet wer he well hable to yelde euerye manne his duetie with the tother halfe, and yet leue himself no beggar neither. For he sayde not he woulde geue awaye all.

Woulde God (cosin) that euery ryche christen man that is reputed right woorshippefull, yea and (whiche yet in my mynde more is) rekened for right honest too, woulde and wer hable to dooe ye thing that litle Zacheus that same gret Publicane (wer he Jew, or wer he Paynim, sayde, that is to wit, with lesse then half his goodes, recompence euery man whōm he had wronged fowre times as muche, yea yea cosin, asmuch for asmuch hardlye. And then they that shall receiue it, shalbe content (I dare promise for them) to lette the tother thrise as muche goe, and forgue it, because it was one of ye harde poyntes of the olde law, wheras christēn men must bee full of forgueing, and not vse to require and exacte their amendes to the vttermost.

But nowe for our purpose here, notwithstanding that he promised not, neither to geue awaye all, nor to become a begger neither, no nor yet to leave of his office neither, whiche albeit that he had not vsed before peraduenture in euerye poynt so

pure as Saynt John the Baptist hadde taughte them the lesson. *Nihil amplius quam constitutum est vobis faciatis*: Dooe no more then is apoynted vnto you, yet for as much as he might both lawfullye vse his substance, that he minded to reserue and lawfullly might vse his office too, in receueng ye princes duetie, accordyng to christes expresse cōmandement. *Reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari*: Geue the Emperor those thinges that are his, refusing al extorsion and bribery beside, our lorde well allowing hys good purpose, and exactyng no ferther foorth of him, concernyng hys worldly behaueour, answered and said. *Hodie salus facta est huic domui, eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahe*: This daye is health cummen to this house, for that he too, is the sonne of Abraham.

But now forgeatte I not (cosin) that in effecte thus far you condescēded vnto me, that a man may be rich, and yet not out of the state of grace, nor out of gods fauour. Howbeit you think that though it may be so in somtime, or in some place yet at this time and in this place, or anye such other like, wherin be so many poore people, vpon whom they be, you thinke, bounden to bestowe their good, they can kepe no riches with conscience.

Verelye cosin, if that reason woulde holde, I wene the world was neuer such any where, in whiche any man myghte haue kept any substaunce withoute the daunger of damnacyon. As for sync Christes dayes to the worldes ende, we haue the witnes of his owne woord, that there hathe neuer lacked poore men, nor neuer shall. For he sayd himselfe. *Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum quibus quam vultis benefacere potestis*. Poore men shall you alwaye haue with you, whome when you will, you may dooe good vnto. So yt as I tell you, if your rule should hold, then wer there I wene no place in no time sin Christes dayes hitherto, nor as I thinke in as lōng before yt neither, nor neuer shal ther heraftre, in which ther coulde anye man abide riche without the danger of eternal damnacion, euen for hys riches alone, though he demened it neuer so wel. But cosin, men of substance must ther be for els shal you haue mo beggers perdy thān there be, and no man left able to relieue another. For this I thynke in my mind a verye sure conclusion, that yf all the moneye that is in thys countreye were to morowe nexte brought together oute of euery mannes hand, and layed al vpon one heape, and then diuided out vnto euery man a like, it would be on the morow after, woorse then it was the day before. For I suppose when it wer al egally thus diuided among all, the best shold be left

little better than, then almoste a beggar is now. And yet he yt was a beggar before, all that he shall be the rycher for that he shold therby receiue, shal not make him muche aboue a beggar styll, but manye one of the ryche men, if theyr richesse stode but in mouable substance shalbe safe ynough from riches, happely for all their lyfe after.

Men cannot, you wot well, liue here in this world, but if yt some one man prouide a mene of liuing for some other many. Euery man cānnot haue a ship of his own, nor euery mān be a marchant without a stocke. And these thinges you wot well nedes must be had, nor euerye man cannot haue a plough by himselfe. And who might liue by the taylers crafte, if no mān wer able to put a gown to make? Who by the masonry, or who could liue a carpenter, if no man wer hable to byld neither church nor house? Who shoulde bee the makers of anye maner cloth, if there lacked men of substaunce to set sundry sortes a woorke? Some mān that hath not two ducates in his house, wer better forbeare thēm both and leue himself not a farthing but vtterly lese all his own, then yt some riche mān by whōm he is wekely set a woorke, should of his money lese the tone halfe. For then wer himself like to lacke woorke. For surely ye riche mannes substaunce, is ye welspring of the poore mannes liuing. And therfore here woulde it fare by the poore man, as it fared by the woman in one of Esopes fables, which had an henne that layed her euery day a goldēn egge, till on a day she thought she would haue a gret mainy egges at once, and therfore she killed her hēnne and founde but one or twaine in her bely, so that for a few, she lost manye.

But now (cosin) to come to your dout how it may be yt a man may with conscience kepe riches with him when he seeth so many poore men vpon whōm he may bestowe it: verely yt might he not with conscience dooe, if he must bestow it vpon as many as he may. And so must of trouth euery rich man dooe, if all the poore folke that he seeth, be so speciallye by Goddes commaundement commytted vnto hys charge alone, that because our sauiour saith: *Omni petenti te da*: Geue euery manne that asketh thee, therefore he be bounden to geue out stil to euery beggar that wil aske him, as long as any peny lasteth in his purse. But verely cosin, that saying hath (as saint Austine saith other places in scripture hath) nede of interpretaciōn. For as holy saint Austine saith; though Christ say, Geue euery man that asketh thee, he saith not yet, geue them all that they will aske thee. But surely all were one, if he meant to bind me by

commaundement to geul euery man without excepcion somwhat, for so shoulde I leave my self nothing.

Our sauour in that place of the sixth Chapter of Saint Luke, speaketh bothe of the contempt that we should in hearte haue of these worldlye thinges, and also of the maner that men should vse towarde their enemies. For there he biddeth vs, loue our enemies, geue good woordes for euil, and not onely suffer iniuries paciently both by taking away of our good, and harm doone vnto our body, but also be ready to suffer the double, and ouer that to doo them good agayn that dooe vs the harme. And among these thinges, he biddeth vs geue euery man that asketh, meaning that in the thing that we may conueniently doo a man good, we shold not refuse it, what maner of man soeuer he bee, though he wer our mortall enemy, namely where we see that but if we helpe him our selfe, the persone of the man shoulde stande in perill of perishing. And therefore sayth S. Paule. *Si esurierit inimicus tuus da illi cibum:* If thine enemy be in hunger, geue hym meate. But nowe though I be bounden to geue euery maner man in some maner of his necessitie, were he my frend or my foe, christen man or heathēn: yet am I not vnto all men bounden a like, nor vnto any man in euery case a like: but (as I began to tel you) the differences of the circumstancies, make great chaunge in the matter. Saynt Paule saith. *Qui non prouidet suis, est infideli deterior:* He that prouideth not for those that are his, is worse then an infidele. Those are ours that are belonging to our charge, either by nature or by lawe, or anye commaundement of God. By nature, as our children by law as our seruautes in our houshold. So that albeit these two sortes be not oures all alike, yet wold I thinke that the least ours of the twayn, yt is to witte, our seruautes, if they nede and lacke, we be boūden to loke to them and prouide for their nede, and see so farre furth as we may, that they lacke not the thynges that shoulde serue for their necessite while they dwel in our seruice. Me semeth also yt yf they fall sicke in our seruice, so that they can not doe the seruice that we retayn them for, yet maye we not in any wyse turne them than out of dores, and cast them vp comfortlesse, whyle they bee not able to labour and helpe themselfe. For thys were a thyng agaynst all humanitie. And surely if he were but a wayfaryng manne that I receyued into my house as a geste, if he fall sick therin, and his money gone, I recken my selfe bounden to kepe him styll, and rather to beg aboute for his relief, than cast him out in yt case to the peryl of his life, what losse soeuer I should happe to

sustayn in the keping of hym. For when god hath by suche chaunce sent hym to me, and there once matched me with him, I recken my self surely charged with him, tyl I may wtout peryll of his life, be wel and conueniently discharged of hym.

By goddes commaundement are in our charge our parentes, for by nature we bee in theirs, sithe (as saincte Paule sayth) it is not the childrens part to prouide for the parentes, but the parentes to prouide for the children. Prouyde I meane conuenientlye, good learnynge or good occupacions to get their liuing by, with trueth and the fauour of God, but not to make prouision for them, of suche maner liuing, as to godward thei shoulde liue the worse for, but rather yf they see by theyr maner that to muche woulde make them nought, the father shoulde than geue them a great deale ye lesse. But althoughe that nature put not the parentes in charge of the children yet not only god commaundeth, but the order of nature also compelleth, that the children should bothe in reuerent behauour, honor theyr father and mother, and also in all their necessitie mayntain them. And yet as muche as God and nature bothe byndeth vs to the sustenaunce of our owne father, his nede may be so little though it be somewhat, and a fremd manne's so great, that both nature and God also would I shoulde in suche vnequal nede, relieue that vrgent necessitie of a straunger; ye(a) my foo, and goddes enemy too, the very Turke or Sarasen, before a little nede and vnlikely to dooe great harme, in my father and my mother too. For so ought they both twayn themself to be well content I shoulde.

But now (Cosin) out of ye case of such extreme nedes wel perceiued and knownen vnto my self, I am not bounden to geue euery begger that will aske, nor to beleue euery faytor that I mete in ye strete that will saye hymselfe that he is verye sycke, nor to recken all the poore folke committed by god only so to my charge alone, that none other man should geue them nothing of his, till I haue first geuen out all myne, nor am not bounden neither to haue so euill oppinion of al other folke sauie my selfe, as to thynke yt but yf I helpe, the poore folke shall all fayle at once, for God hath lefte in all this quarter no mo good folke now but me. I maye thinke better by my neyghbours, and worse by my selfe than so, and yet come to heauen by gods grace wel inough. ¶ *Vyncent.* Marye (vnkle) but some man will paradynture bee ryght well content in suche cases, to think his neighbours very charitable, to thentent that he may thynke himselfe at libertye to geue nothyng at all. ¶ *Anthony.* That

is (Cosyn) verye true: so wyl ther some be content, either to think or make as thoughte they thoughte: but those are they that are content to geue nought, because they be nought. But our question is (Cosin) not of them, but of good folke that by the keping of worldly good, stānd in gret feare to offend god. For the acquyetinge of their conscience speake we now, to thentent that they may perceiue what maner of hauing of worldly good, and keping thereof, may stand wt the state of grace. Nowe thinke I (Cosin) that if a manne kepe richesse aboute him for a glory and ryaltie of the world in the consideracion whereof, he taketh a great delyte, and lyketh himself therfore, taking the poorer for the lack therof, as one farre worse than himself, such a mynde is verye vayne foolishhe prude, and such a manne is verye noughte in dede. But on the tother syde, yf there bee a man (suche as woulde god there were manye) that hath vnto rychesse no loue, but hauing it fall aboundingtlye vnto him, taketh to his owne part no greate pleasure therof, but as though he hadde it not, kepeth himself in lyke abstinenēce, and penaunce priuily, as he woulde doe in case he had it not, and in suche thynges as he dothe openlye, bestowe somewhat more liberallye vppon hymselfe, in hys house after some maner of the worlde, leste he should geue other folke occasion to meruayle and muse, and talke of hys maner, and misreporte hym for an hypocryte, therein betwene god and hym dothe truely protest and testifie, as did the good quene Hester, that he dothe it not for any desyre thereof in the satisfiynge of his owne pleasure, but woulde with as good wyll or better, forbeare, ye possession of riches, sauing for the commoditie that other menne haue by hys disposyng thereof, as percase in keping a good household in good christen order and fashion, and in settynge other folke a woorke with suche thynges as they gayne theyr liuyng the better by hys meanes, this mannes hauyng of riches I myght me thynketh in merite, match in a maner with another mannes forsakynge of all, if there were none other circumstaunce more pleasaunte vnto god added farther vnto the forsakynge beside as percase for the more feruent contemplacion by reason of the solicitude of all worldly businesse leste of, whyche was the thyng that made mary Mawdeleins parte the better. For els would Christe haue canned her much more thanke, to goe aboute and be busy in the helpynge her sister Martha to dresse his diner, thān to take her stole and sit down at her ease and doe nought.

Nowe if he that haue this good and rychesse by hym, haue not happily fully so perfyte a mynde, but somewhat loueth to kepe

hymselfe from lacke, and not so fullye as a pure chrysten fashion requireth, determyned to abandon hys pleasure, well, what will you more? The manne is so much ye lesse perfyte than I woulde he were, and happely than hym selfe woulde wishe, if it were as easy to be it as to wishe it. But yet not by and by in state of damnacion for al that. No more than euerye manne is furthwyth in state of damnacion, that forsakyng all, and entryng into religion, is not yet alwaye so cleere depured from all worldelye affeccions, as hymself would verye fayne he were, and much bewayleth that he is not. Of whom some man that hath in the worlde willingly forsaken the likelihode of right worshipfull rowmes? hath afterwarde hadde much a dooe, to kepe him selfe from the desire of the office of Cellerer, or Sexten, to beare yet at the least wise some rule and authoritie, though it were but amone the bellies. But God is more mercyfull to mannes imperfeccion, if the manne know it and knowledge it, and mislike it, and lyttle and lyttle labour to mend it, than to reiecte and caste of to the deuill him, that after as his frailtie canne beare and suffer, hath a general entent and purpose to please him, and to prefer or sette by nothyng in al this worlde before hym. And therefore (Cosin) to make an ende of this piece with al: *A negotio perambulante in tenebris*, of this deuyll I meane that the Prophete calleth busines walking in the darkenesse, if a man haue a mynde to serue god and please hym: and rather lese al the good he hath, than wittinglye doe deadlye synne, and woulde without murmure or grudge, geue it euerye whitte awaye in case that GOD shoulde so commaunde hym, and entēnd to take it pacientlye, if god would take it from him, and gladde would be to vse it vnto goddes pleasure, and do his dyligence to know and to be taught what maner vsyng thereof God woulde bee pleased with, and therein fro time to tyme be gladde to folowe the counsayle of good vertuous menne, thoughe he neither geue away all at once, nor geue euery manne that asketh hym neyther. Let euerye manne feare and thynke in this worlde, that all the good yt he dothe or can doe, is a great deale to litle. But yet for all that feare, let hym dwel therwith in the faythfull hope of gods help, and than shall the trueth of god so compasse him aboue as the prophete sayth, with a pauice, that he shall not so nede to dread the traynes and the temptaciōns of this deuill, that the Prophete calleth businesse walking aboue in the darkenesse, but that he shall for al ye hauyng of riches and worldelye substaunce, so auoyde his traynes and his temptaciōns, that he shal in conclusion by the greate grace and almightyie

mercy of god geat into heauen wel inough. And now was I (Cosin) about lo after this piece thus ended, to bidde them bryng in our diner but now shal I not nede loe for here thei come with it already. ¶ *Vyncent.* Forsoth (good vncle) god disposeth and timeth your mater and your diner both I trust. For thende of your good tale (for which oure lorde rewarde you) and the beginnyng here, of your good diner too (from whiche it wer more than pitie that you should any lenger haue taryed) meete euen at the close together. ¶ *Anthony.* Well (Cosin) nowe will we saye grace, and than for a whyle wyll we leaue talkyng, and assaye howe oure diner shall lyke vs, and how faire we can fall to fedyng. Which done, you know my customizable guise (for maner I maye not call it, because the guyse is vnmanerlye) to byd you not fare well, but stele awai frōm you to slepe. But you wote well I am not wont at after none to slepe long, but euen a little to forgeat the world: and whan I wake, I wyl againe come to you, and than is (god willing) all this long daye ours, wherein we shall haue tyme ynoughe to take muche more than shall suffise for the finishyng of this one part of our matter, whiche onely now remaineth. ¶ *Vyncent.* I praye you good vncle kepe your customizable maner. For maner maye you call it well ynoughe. For as it were against good maner to looke that a man shoulde knele downe for courtesy whan his knee is sore, so is it very good maner, that a man of your age agrieued with suche sundrye sicknesses beside, that suffer you not alway to slepe whan you shoulde, lette his slepe not slippe awaye, but take it whan he maye. And I wyl vncle in the

meane whyle steale from you too, and speede a little

erande and returne to you again. ¶ *Anthony.* Tary

whyle you will, and whan you haue dined

goe at youre pleasure, but I praye

you tarye not lōng. ¶ *Vyncent.*

You shal not nede vncle to

putte me in mind of that,

I wold so fayne haue

vppe the reme-

naunte of our

matter.

THE III. BOKE

AND THE LAST, OF CONSOLACION, AND COUMFORT IN TRIBULACION

Vyncent. Somwhat haue I taryed the lenger vnkle, partlye for that I was lothe to come ouer soone, lest my sone comming, myghte haue happed too haue made you wake to soone, but specially by the reason that I was letted, with one that shewed me a letter, dated at Constantynople by whiche letter it appeareth, that the greate Turke prepareth a marueylous mightie armye. And yet whyther he wyll therewith, that canne there yet no man tell. But I feare in good faithe (Vnkle) that his viage shall bee hyther. Howebeit he that wrote the letter, saith that it is secretly sayd in Constantynople, that greate parte of his army, shall be shippid and sent either into Naples, or into Cicile. ¶ *Anthony.* It may fortune (Cosyn) that the letter of the Venecian dated at Constantinople, was deuysed at Venice from thence come ther some among, and sometime fro Rome to, and some time also fro som other places, letters, all farsed full of suche tydinges, that the Turke is ready to dooe somme greate exploit, whiche tidynges thei blowe aboute, for the furtheraunce of somme suche affaires, as they than haue themselfe in hande.

The Turke hath also so many men of armes in his retinue at his continual charge, that leste thei shoulde lye styll and doe nothing, but peraduenture fal in deuising of somme nouelties among themselfe, he is fain yerely to make som assembles, and some chaunging of them from one place vnto another, and parte some sorte a sunder, that they waxe not ouer well acquainted by dwelling ouer long together.

By these waies also, he maketh those that he mindeth sodainelye to inuade in dede, the lesse to loke therefore, and therby the lesse preparacion to make beefore, while they see him so many times make a great visage of warre, whan he myndeth it not. But than at one tyme or other, they sodainely feele it, whan they feare it not. Howebeit full likely (Cosin) it is of very trouth that into this realm of Hungarie he will not fayle to come. For neither is there any countrey thorowe

Christendome that lyeth for hym so meete, nor neuer was there any time tyll nowe, in whiche hee mighte so well and surelye winne it. For now call wee him in oure selfe God sauе vs, as Esope telleth, that the shepe tooke in the wolfe vnto them, to kepe them fro the dogges. ¶ *Vyncent*. Than are there verye lyke (good Vnkle) all those trybulacions to fall vppon vs here, that I speake of in the beginningne of oure firste communicacion here the tother day.

¶ *Anthony*. Verye trouthe it is (Cosyn) that so there wyll of lykelyhoode in a whyle, but not foorthwith all at the firste. For whyle he commeth vnder the coloure of ayde for the tone agaynst the tother, he wyll somewhat see the prooфе, before he fully shew himself. But in cōclusion, if he be able to geat it for hym, you shall see hym so handle it, that hee shall not fayle to geat it from hym, and that foorthwith out of hand, ere euer he suffer hym settle hym self ouer sure therin. ¶ *Vyncent*. Yet saye thei (Vnkle) that he vseth not to force anye manne to forsake his fayth. ¶ *Anthony*. Not anye man Cosyn? They saye more than they can make good, that tell you so. He maketh a solemne othe among the ceremonyes, of that feast, in whiche hee fyrste taketh vppon hym his authoritie, that he shall in all that he possible may, minyshe the fayth of Christe, and dilate the faith of Mahomet. But yet hath he not vsed to force euery whole coutrey at once to forsake theyr faith. For of some countreys hath he bene content onely to take a tribute yearely, and let them than liue as they list. Out of some he taketh ye whole people awai, disparsing them for slauies among many sundry countreys of hys, verye farre fro their owne, without ani sufferaunce of regrette. Some country so gret and populouse that they can not well be caried and conuaide thence, hee destroyeth the gentlemen, and geueth ye landes, part to such as he bringeth, and parte to suche as willinglye will reney their faith, and kepeth the tother in such miserye, that they were in maner as good be dead at once. In rest he suffreth elles no christen manne almoste, but those that resorte as marchauntes, or those that offer themselfe to serue hym in his warre.

But as for those Christen countreys that he vseth, not for onely trybutaries, as he doth Chyo, Cipris, or Candy, but reckeneth for clere conquest, and vtterly taketh for his owne, as Morea, grece, and Macedonie, and suche other lyke, and as I verely thinke he will Hungarye yf he geat it, in all those, vseth he chrysten people after sundry fashions. He letteth them dwell there in deede, because they were to many to cary all

awaye, and to many to kill them all to, but if he sholde either leaue the land dispeopled and desolate, or elles some other countreys of his owne, from whence he shold (which woulde not well bee done) conuaye the people thyther, to people that land with all. There loe those that wyl not be turned fro theyr faith, of whiche God kepeth (lawded bee his holie name) verye many, he suffreth to dwell styl in peace, but yet is their peace for all that not verye peisable. For landes he suffreth them to haue none of their owne: office or honest roume thei beare none: with occasions of his warres, he pilleth them with taxes and tallages vnto the bare bones. Theyr children he choseth where he lyst in their youth, and taketh them fro their parentes, conueying them whyther hee liste where their frendes neuer see them after, and abuseth them as he liste: some younge maydens maketh harlots, som younge menne he bryngeth vp in warre and some younge children he causeth to be gelded, not their stones cutte oute as the custome was of olde, but cutteth of their whole members by the body, how fewe scape and liue he little forceth, for he will haue inoughe. And all that he so taketh young to any vse of his own, are betaken vnto such Turkes or false rennegates to kepe, that thei bee turned fro the faith of Christ euerychone, or els so handeled, that as for this worlde they comme to an euill cheuing. For beeside manye other contumelies and dispightes, that the Turkes and the false renegate christiens manye tymes dooe, too good christen people that still perseuer and abide by the faith, thei finde the meane sometyme to make some false shrewes saye, that they heard such a christen man speake obprobrious woordes agaynst Mahomet. And vpon that poynt falsely testified, wil they take occasion to compell hym forsake the fayth of Christe, and turne to the profession of their shameful superstitious sect: or elles wil they put him vnto death, with cruel intollerable tormentes.

¶ *Vyncent.* Our lord (vnkle) for his mightie mercy, kepe those wretches hence. For by my trouth if thei hap to come hither, me think I see many mo tokens than one, that we shall haue of our owne folke here ready to fall in vnto them. For like as before a gret storm the sea begynneth sometime to worke and rore in it selfe, ere euer the windes waxe boistous, so mee thynke I here at myne eare some of our owne here among vs, whiche within these fewe yeres coulde no more haue born the name of a Turk than the name of the deuyll, begyn now to fynde litle fault therein, ye and some to praise them to litle and lyttle as they maye, more gladde to fynde faultes at euery state

of christendom, priestes, princes, rytes, ceremonies, sacramentes, lawes, and customes spirituall, temporall, and all.

¶ *Anthony.* In good fayth (Cosin) so begynne we to fare here in dede, and that but euen now of late. For since the title of the crowne hath comen in question, the good rule of this realme hath verye sore decayed as lytle whyle as it is. And vndoubtedly Hungary shall neuer do wel, as long as it stāndeth in this case, that mens myndes hearken after noueltie, and haue theyr heartes hangyng vpon a chaunge, and muche the worse I like it, whan their woordes walke so large towarde the fauoure of ye Turkes secte, whiche thei wer euer wōnt to haue in so greate abhominacion, as euerye true minded christen man and chrysten woman to, must haue.

I am of suche age as you se, and verily from as farre as I can remember, it hath bene marked and often proued true, that whan children haue in Buda fallen in a fantasye by themselfe, to drawe together, and in theyr playinge make as it were corses caried to church and syng after their childishe fashion ye tune of the Dirige, there hath gret deth there shortly folowed after. And twise or thryse I maye remember in my daies whan children in diuers partes of thys realm haue gathered themself in sundry coumpanies, and made as it were partyes and battayles. And after their battayles in sporte, wherein some children haue yet taken greate hurte, there hath fallen verye battayle and deadly warre in dede.

These tokens were somewhat lyke your ensaumple of the sea, sith they bee, of thynges that after folow tokens fore going, throughe some secrete mocion or instincte, whereof the cause is vnkownen. But by saint mary (Cosyn) these tokens like I muche worse, these tokens I saye, not of childrens playes, nor of childrens songes, but old shrewes large open woordes, so boldly spoken in ye fauour of Mahomets secte in this realme of Hungarie, that hath bene euer hitherto a very sure kay of christendome. And out of doubt if Hungary be loste, and yt the Turke haue it once fast in his possession, he shal ere it be long after, haue an open ready way into almoste the remenaunt of all christendome, thoughe hee wynne it not all in a wieke, the greate parte will bee wonne after I feare me, within very fewe yeres. ¶ *Vincente.* But yet euermore I truste in Christe (good Vncle) that he shal not suffer that abhominable secte of his mortal enemyes, in suche wyse to preuayle agaynst his christen countreys.

¶ *Anthony.* That is very well said (Cosin.) Let vs haue our

sure hope in him, and than shal we be verye sure that we shall not be deceiued. For ether shal we haue the thing that wee hope for, or a better thing in the stede. For as for ye thyng it selfe that we praye for and hope to haue, god will not alway sende vs. And therfore (as I sayd in our first communicacion) in all thyng sauе onely for heauen our prayer, nor our hope maye neuer be to precise, although the thing bee liefull to require. Verely if we people of the christen nacions, were such as woulde god we were, I would litle feare all the preparacions that the gret Turk could make. No nor yet beyng as badde as we be, I nothing doubt at all, but that in conclusion howe base so euer chrysṭendome be broughte, it shall springe vp agayne, tyll the tyme be come verye nere to the daye of dome, whereof somme tokens as me thinketh are not comen yet. But sommewhat before that tyme shal christēdom be straighted sore, and brought into so narowe a coumpasse, that accordyng to Christes woordes: *filius hominis veniens putas inueniet fidem in terra?* Whan ye son of mān shal come agayn, yt is to wit, to the daye of general iudgemēnte, wenest thou that he shal fynde faith in the earth? as who say, but a litle. For as appereth in thapocalips and other places of scripture, the faith shalbe at that tyme so far faded, that he shall for the loue of hys electes, lest thei should fall and perish to, abbredge those daies, and accelerate his coming. But as I saye, me thynketh I misse yet in my minde, some of those tokens that shall by the scripture, come a good while beofore that. And among other, the comyng in of the Jewes, and ye dilating of christendome againe, before the worlde come to that straight. So yt I saye for myne owne mynde, I lyttle doubt, but thys vngracious secte of Mahomette, shall haue a fowle fall and christendome springe and sprede, floure and encrease againe. Howebeit ye pleasure and the conforte shall thei see, that shalbe borne after that we be buryed, I feare me bothe twayne. For God geueth vs great likelyhoode, that for our sinnefull wretched liuyng, he goeth about to make these infidels that are his open professed enemyes, the sorowfull scourge of correccyon, ouer euyll christen people that shoulde bee faythfull, and are of trouthe his falselye professed frendes. And surelye (Cosyn) albeit that mee thynketh I see diuers euyll tokens of thys miserye commynge to vs, yet canne there not in my mynde bee a worse prognosticacion thereof, than this vngracious token that you note here youre selfe. For vndoubtedly (Cosyn) this newe maner here of mennes fauourable fashion, in their language towarde these vngracious

Turkes, declareth plainelye, that not onelye theyr mindes geue them, that hither in shal he come, but also that thei can be contente, bothe to lyue vnder him, and ouer that fro the true faith of Christe, to fall into Mahamottes false abhominable secte.

¶ *Vincente*. Verelye (mine vncle) as I go more aboute than you, so muste I nedes more here (whiche is an heauy hearyng in myne eare) the maner of men in thys matter, whiche encracheth aboute vs here (I truste in other places of thys realm by goddes grace it is otherwise.) But in this quarter here about vs, manye of these felowes that are mete for ye war, fyrist wer wont as it were in sport, and in a while after half betwene game and earneste, and by oure Ladye nowe not farre from fayre flatte earneste in dede, talke as thoughe they looked for a daye, whan with a turne vnto ye Turks fayth, they shoulde be made maysters here of true christen mennes bodies and owners of all theyr goodes.

¶ *Anthony*. Though I goe litle abrode (Cosyn) yet here I sommetyme whan I saye little, almoste as muche as that.

But while there is no manne to complayn too for the redresse, what remedy but pacyence, and faine to sitte still and holde my peace. For of these twoo that stryue whither of them both shal reigne vpon vs, and eche of them calleth hymselfe kinge, and bothe twayne putte the people to Payne, the tone is you wote well to farre from oure quarter here to helpe vs in this behalfe, and the tother whyle he looketh for the Turkes ayde, eyther wyll not, or (I weene) well dare not, fynde anye faulte wyth them that fauoure the Turke and his secte. For of Turkes naturall this countrey lacketh none nowe, whiche are here conuersaunte vnder diuers pretextes, and of euerye thynge aduertise the greate Turke full surelye. And therefore Cosyn, albeit that I woulde aduise euerye manne, praye stylle and call vnto God to holde his gracious hande ouer vs, and kepe awaye this wretchednes if his pleasure be, yet would I farther aduise euerye good christen bodye, to remember and consider, that it is verye likelye to come, and therefore make hys reckenynge and caste his penye worthes beefore, and euery manne and euery womān bothe, appointe with goddes helpe in their owne minde before hande, what thing thei entende to doe if ye very worst fall.

¶ Whither a manne should caste in his minde and appointe in his heart, before, that if he were taken with Turkes he would rather dye thān forsake ye faith

¶ THE I. CHAPITER

Vyncent. Wel fare your hert good Vnkle, for this good counsell of yours. For surely me thinketh that this is marueilous good. But yet heard I once a righte cunning and a very good manne saye, that it were great foly and very perilous too, that a manne should thynke vpon any suche thyng or imagine anye suche case in his minde, for feare of double perill that may folowe thereuppon. For eyther shal he be likely to aunswere himselfe to that case putte by him selfe, that he will rather suffer any painefull death than forsake his faith, and by that bolde appointment should he fall in the fault of saint Peter, that of ouersyghte made a proude promise, and sone hadde a foule fall, or els were he likely to think that rather than abide the pain, he wold forsake god in dede. And by that minde should he sinne deadly through his own foly where as he nedeth not, as he that shal paraduenture neuer comme in the perill to bee put thereunto. And yt therefore it were moste wisedome, neuer too think vpon any suche maner case. ¶ Anthony. I belieue wel (Cosin) that you haue heard some man that wold so say. For I can shew almost as much as that left of a very good man and a greate solempne doctor in writing. But yet (Cosin) although I should hap to fynde one or two mo, as good menne and as well learned too, that woulde bothe twayne saye and write the same, yet wold I not feare for my part, to counsaile my frend to the contrary. For (Cosyn) if his mind aunswere him as saint Peter answered Christe, that he wyl rather dye thān forsake hym, though hee saye therein more vnto hymselfe, than he shoulde bee paraduenture able to make good if it came to the poynte, yet perceyue I not that he dothe in that thoughte, anye deadlye dyspleasure vnto God. Nor saincte Peter thoughe he sayde more thān he coulde perfourme, yet in his so saying, offended not god greatlye neither. But his offence was, whan he dyd not after so wel as he sayde before. But nowe maye this manne be likely neuer to fall in the peril of breaking that appointment, sythe some tenne thousande that so shall examyne themselfe, neuer one shall fall in the peryll. And yet to haue that good purpose al their life, semeth me no more harme the while, than

a poore begger that hath neuer a peny, to thinke that yf he had great substaunce, he would geue great almose for gods sake.

But nowe is all the peryll, if ye man aunswere himselfe, that he woulde in suche case rather forsake the faythe of Christe with his mouth, and kepe it stil in his heart, than for the confessing of it to endure a payneful death. For by this mynde, he falleth in deadly sinne, which while he neuer commeth in the case in dede, if he neuer hadde put himselfe the case, he neuer hadde fallen in. But in good faith me thinketh that he which vpon that case putte vnto himselfe by himselfe, wyll make hymselfe that aunswere hath the habite of faith so faynte and so colde, that to the better knowledg of himselfe and of his necessitie to praye for more strength of grace, he had neede to haue the question putte hym, eyther by hymselfe or some other man.

Besides thys, to counsayle a man neuer to thynke on that case, is in my mynde as muche reason, as the medecine that I haue heard taught one for ye to the ache, to goe thryse about a church yarde, and neuer thynke on a fox tayle. For yf the counsayle bee not geuen them, it canne not serue them. And yf it be geuen them, it muste putte the poynte of the matter in theyr mynde, whiche by and by to reiecte, and thynke therin neither one thynge nor other, is a thynge that maye bee sooner bydden than obeyed.

I wene also that verye fewe menne canne escape it, but that though they woulde neuer thynke thereon by themselves, yet in one place or other where they shall happe to come in company, they shall haue the question by aduenture so proponed and putte foorth: that lyke as while he heareth one talkyng to hym, he maye well winke yf he wil, but he canne not make hym self slepe, so shal he whither he wil or no, think one thing or other therin.

Finallye, when Christe spake so often, and so playne of the matter, that euerye manne shoulde vpon Payne of damnacion, openlye confesse his fayth, yf menne tooke hym, and by dreade of death would drieue him to the contrary, it semeth me in a maner implied therin, that we bee bounden condicianallye, to haue euer more that minde actuallye somme time, and euermore habitually, that if the case so shoulde fal, than wyth goddes helpe so we woulde. And thus muche thynketh me necessary for euery manne and woman, to be alway of this mynde, and often to thinke thereuppon. And where they fynde in the thynkyng thereon, their heartes agryce and shrynde in

the remembraunce of the Payne, that their imaginacion representeth too the minde, than muste thei call to mynde and remember, the great paine and torment that Christ suffered for them, and heartely praye for grace, that if ye case sholde so fall, god shouide geue them strengthe to stand. And thus with exercise of such meditacion, though menne shoulde neuer stande full out of feare of fallynge, yet muste they perseuer in good hope, and in full purpose of standing. And thys semeth me Cosin, so farreforth the mind that euery christen manne and woman must nedes haue, that me thinketh euery Curate should often counsayl al his parishons, and euery man and woman their seruautes and their children, euēn beginning in their tender youth, to know this poynt, and to thinke thereon, and lytle and litle fro theyr very childhooде to accustome them dulcely and pleasanly in the meditacion thereof, whereby ye goodnes of god shall not fayle, so to aspyre the grace of his holye spirite into theyr heartes, in rewarde of that vertuous diligence, that through such actual meditacion, he shall confirme them in suche a sure habite of spirituall faithful strength, that all the deuyls in hel with al the wrestling that they canne make, shal neuer be able to wrest it out of their hearte. ¶ *Vyncent.* By my trouth vnkle me thynketh that you saye very wel.

¶ *Anthony.* I saye surelye Cosyn, as I thynke. And yet all thys haue I sayde, concernyng them that dwell in suche places, as they bee neuer lyke in theyr lyues, to comme in the daunger to bee putte too the proofe. Howe be it manye a manne maye weene himself farre therefro, that yet maye fortune by some one chaunce or other: to fall in the case that eyther for the trouth of fayth, or for the trouthe of justice, (whiche goe almoste all alyke) he maye fall in the case. But nowe bee you and I Cosyn, and al our frendes here, far in another point. For we be so likely to fall in the experieпce thereof of soone, that it hadde bene more tyme for vs, all other thynges set asyde, to haue deuised vpon this matter, and fymely to haue settled our selfe vpon a false point long agoe, than to begynne to common and counsaile vpon it now.

¶ *Vyncent.* In good fayth Vnkle, you say therein very trouth, and would god it hadde come sooner in my minde. But better is it yet late than neuer. And I truste god shall yet geue vs respyte and tyme, whereof Vnkle yt we lese no part, I praye you procede nowe with youre good counsayle therein.

¶ *Anthony.* Very gladlye (Cosyn,) shall I nowe goe foorth in the fourth temptacion, whiche onely remayneth to be treated of, and properly pertayneth whole vnto thys presente purpose.

¶ Of the fourth temptation, which is persecucion for the fayth, touched in these woordes of the prophet. *Ab incursu et demonio meridiano*

¶ THE II. CHAPITER

THE fourth temptation Cosin that the Prophete speaketh of in the fore remembred psalme *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, etc.* is playne open persecucion. Whiche is touched in these woordes. *Ab incursu et demonio meridiano*. And of all hys temptacyons, thys is the moste perilous, the moste bytter, sharpe, and the moste rygorous. For where as in other temptacyons, he vseth eyther pleasaunte allectyues vnto synne, or other secrete sleyghtes and traynes, and commeth in the nyghte, and stealeth on in the darke vnware, or in somme other parte of the daye, flyeth and passeth by, lyke an arrowe, so shapynge hymselfe, sommetyme in one fashion, sommetyme in another, and so dyssimulynge hym selfe, and hys hyghe mortall malyce, that a manne is thereby so blynded and beguyled, that he maye not somme tyme perceyue well what he is, in thys temptacyon, thys playne open persecucion for the faythe, he commeth euen in the verye mydde daye, that is to witte euen vpon them, that haue an hyghe lyghte of faythe shynynge in their heart and openlye suffereth hymself so playnlye bee perceyued, by his feare malicyous persecucion agaynst the faythfull Christianes, for hatred of Christes true catholyke faythe, that no manne hauinge faythe, canne doubte what he is. For in this temptation he sheweth him selfe suche as the Prophet nameth him: *Demonium meridianum*, the midde daye deuile: he maye bee so lightsommely sene with the eye of a faythfull soule, by his fierce furious assaute and incursion. For therefore sayeth the Prophete, that the trouth of God shall coumpasse that mā rounde aboue that dwelleth in ye faithfull hope of his helpe, with a pauyce, *ab incursu et demonio meridiano*, from the incursion and the deuyll of the midde daye, because this kynde of persecucion, is not a wylie temptation, but a furous force, and a terrible incursion. In other of his temptacions, he stealeth on lyke a Fox, but in this Turkes persecucion for the faith, he runneth on roring with assault like a ramping lion.

This temptation is of all temptacions also the moste perilous. For wheras in temptacions of prosperite, hee vseth onely delectable allectiues to moue a manne to synne, and in other

kyndes of trybulacion and aduersitie, he vseth onelye gryefe and Payne, to pull a man into murmure, impacience, and blasphemye, in this kynd of persecucion for the faythe of Christ, he vseth bothe twaine that is to wytte, bothe hys allectyues of quyete and reste, by deliueraunce from deathe and Payne, with other pleasures also of this present life, and beside that, the terror anc infliccion of intollerable Payne and torment.

In other trybulacyon, as losse, or sycknes, or death of our frendes: though the Payne bee paradynture as greate and sommetyme greater too, yet is not the peryll no where nigh half so much. For in other tribulacions (as I sayde before) that necessitie that the manne muste of fyne force, abyde and endure the Payne, waxe he neuer so wrothe and impacyente therewith, is a great reason to moue hym to kepe hys pacience therein, and bee contente therewyth, and thanke God thereof, and of necessitie to make a vertue, that he maye bee rewarded for. But in thys temptacion thys persecucion for the fayth, I mene not by fyght in the field, by which the faythful manne standeth at his defence and putteth the faithelesse in halfe the feare and halfe the harme too, but wher he is taken and in holde, and may for the foreswearynge or the denyinge of hys faythe, bee delyuered and suffred to lyue in reste, and somme in greate worldelye wealthe also: in this case I saye thys thynge that he needeth not to suffer thys trouble and Payne, but hee wyl, is a marueylous greate occayson for hym, to fall into the synne that the Deuyll woulde dryue hym too, that is to wytte, the forsakynge of the faythe.

And therefore (as I saye) of all the Deuylls temptacions, is this temptacion, this persecucion for the faythe, the moste perilous.

¶ *Vincent.* The more perilous vncle, that this temptacion is (as in dede of all temptacyons the moste perilous it is) the more neede haue they that stande in peryll thereof, to bee before with substaunciall aduyse and good counsayle, well armed agaynst it, that we maye wyth the comforthe and consolacyon thereof, the better beare that trybulacion whan it commeth, and the better withstande the temptacion.

¶ *Anthony.* You say (Cosyn Vincent) therein verye trouthe. And I am contente to fall therefore in hande therewyth. But for as muche (Cosyn) as me thynketh, that of thys trybulacyon, sommewhate you bee more fearde than I, and of trouthe sommewhate more excusable it is in you than it were in mee, myne age consydered, and the sorowe that I haue suffered all readye, wyth

somme other consideracions vpon my parte besyde, rehearse you therefore the grieves and the paynes, that you think in this trybulacion possible to fall vnto you, and I shall agaistre eche of them, geue you counsayle, and rehearse yow suche occasion of coumforte and consolacion, as my poore witte and learning canne call vnto my minde.

¶ *Vyncent.* In good faythe (Vnkle) I am not all thinge afearde in this case onelye for my selfe, but well you wote I haue cause to care also for many mo, and that folke of sundrye sortes, menne and women bothe, and that not all of one age.

¶ *Anthony.* All that you haue cause to feare for (Cosyne) for all them haue I cause to feare with you too, sith al your kynsfolke and alies within a lyttle, bee likewise vnto me. Howebeit to saye the trouthe, euerye manne hathe cause in this case to feare, bothe for hymself and also for euerye other. For sithe as the scripture saythe. *Vnicuique dedit deus curam de proximo suo:* God hath geuen eueri manne cure and charge of his neighbour: there is no manne that hath any spark of christen loue and charitie in his breste, but that in a matter of suche peryll as this is, wherein the soule of man standeth in so great daunger to bee loste, he muste nedes care and take thought, not for his frendes only, but also for his very foes. We shall therfore (Cosyn) not rehearse your harmes or myne that maye befall in this persecucion: but all the greate harmes in general as nere as we canne call to minde that maie happe vnto any manne.

¶ THE III. CHAPITER

SYTHE a manne is made of the bodye and the soule, al ye harme that anye manne maie take, it muste nedes bee in one of these two, either immediately, or by ye meane of somme suche thing as serueth for the pleasure, weale, or commoditie of the tone of these two. As for the soule first, we shall nede no rehersal of any harme that by this kinde of tribulacion maye attaine thereto: but if that by somme inordinate loue and affecciōn that the soule beare to the body, she consent to slide fro the faith, and thereby do her harme her selfe. Nowe remain there the body, and these outward things of fortune, which serue for the maintenaunce of the body, and minister matter of pleasure to the soule also, through the delyte yt she hath in the body for the while that she is matched therewith.

Consider than first the losse of those outwarde thinges, as

sommewhat the lesse in weight than is the body it selfe. In them what may a man lese? and therby what payne maye he suffer?

¶ *Vincent.* He maye leese (Vnkle) of whiche I shoulde somewhat leese my selfe) mony, plate, and other mouable substaunce: than offices, authoritie, and finallye all the landes of hys inheritance for euer, that hymselfe and his heyres perpetuallye myghte elles enioye. And of all these thinges (Vnkle) you wote well that my selfe haue somme, lyttle in respecte of that that somme other haue here, but sommewhat more yet, than hee that hathe moste here, woulde bee wel content to leese.

Vppon the losse of these thynges, folowe nedinesse and pouertie, the payne of lacking: the shame of beggyng (of whiche twayne I wote not well which is the moste wretched necessitie) besyde the grieve and heauines of heart, in beholdyng good menne and faithfull and his dere frendes be wrapped in lyke misery, and vngacious wretches and infidels and his mortall enemyes enioye the commodities that himselfe and hys frendes haue loste. Nowe for the bodye, very fewe wordes shall serue vs. For therein I see none other harme, but losse of libertie, labour, enprisonment, painfull and shameful death. ¶ *Anthony.* There nedeth not muche more (Cosyn) as the worlde is nowe. For I feare me that lesse than a fourth parte of this, wil make many a manne sore stagger in his fayth, and some manne fall quite therrefro, that yet at this daye before he come to the prooфе, weneth hymselfe that hee woulde stande very faste. And I beseche our lorde, that all they that so thynke, and woulde yet whan they wer brought vnto the pointe, fall therfro for feare or for payn, may get of god the grace to wene still as thei doe, and not to bee broughte to thassay, where payne or feare shoulde shewe them (as it shewed saincte Peter) howe farre they be deceiued now.

But now (Cosyn) agaynst these terrible thynges, what waye shall we take in geuing menne counsaile of comfort? If the faith were in our daies as feruēt as it hath bene ere this, in tyme before passed, litle counsayle and litle comfort would suffice. We should not muche nede with wordes and reasoning, to extenuate and minysh the vgyour and asperite of the paynes, but the greaterre and the more bitter that the passion wer, the more ready was of olde tyme the feruor of faith to suffer it. And surely Cosyn, I doubt it litle in my mynde, but that yf a manne hadde in his heart, so deepe a desire and loue, longyng to bee with God in heuen, to haue the fruicion of his glorious face,

as hadde those hollye menne that were martirs in olde time, he wold no more nowe sticke at the payn that he muste passe betwene, than at that tyme those olde holy martirs dyd. But alas our faynt and feble faith, with our loue to god lesse than luke warme, by ye firye affeccion that we beare to our owne filthy fleshe, maketh vs so dul in the desire of heauen, that the sodayn drede of euery bodily paine, woundeth vs to ye heart and striketh our deuocion dead. And therefore hath there euerye manne Cosin (as I sayde before) muche the more nede to thinke vpon this thyng, many a time and oft afore hande, ere any such perill fall, and by muche deuysing therupon before thei see cause, to feare it. While the thyng shal not appeare so terrible vnto them, reson shal better enter, and through grace working with their diligence, engender and set sure, not a sodayn sleight affeccion of sufferaunce for goddes sake, but by a long continuance, a stronge depe roted habitte, not lyke a reede ready to waue wyth euerye winde, nor like a rooteles tree scante set vp an end in a lose heape of light sand, that wil with a blast or two be blowēn down.

¶ THE IIII. CHAPITER

FOR if we now consider Cosyn, these causes of terroure and dread that you haue recited, whiche in his persecucion for the faith, this mydday deuyll maye by these Turkes reare against vs to make his incursion with, we shall well perceiue wayng thēm well with reason, that albeit somewhat they be in dede, yet euery parte of the matter pondered, thei shall well appeare in cōclusion, thinges nothing so muche to be dred and fled fro, as to folke at the fyrst sight thei do sodainly seme.

Of the losse of the goodes of fortune

THE V. CHAPITER

FOR first to begin at ye outwarde goodes, yt neither are the proper goodes of the soule, nor of ye body, but are called ye goodes of fortune yt serue for ye sustenance and commoditie of man, for ye short seasōn of this present life, as worldly substaunce, offices, honor, and authoritie, what great good is ther in these things of thēmself, for which thei wer worthy so much as to beare the name, by which ye world of a worldly fauor customably calleth thēm? For if ye hauing of strēngth make a man strong,

and ye hauing of heat make a man hote, and the hauing of vertue make a man vertuous, how can those thinges be verely and truely good which he yt hath them, may by ye hauing of them, as wel be the worse as ye better, and (as experience proueth more ofte is ye worse than ye better?) What should a good man gretly reioyce in yt, yt he daily seeth most abound in the handes of many that bee nought? Do not now this gret Turke and his Bassawes in al these auauncements of fortune surmount verye farre aboue any christen estate, and any Lordes lyuyng vnder hym? And was there not yet hence vpon twentye yeares, the greate Sowdane of Surry, whiche manye a yere together bare as gret a porte as the greate Turke, and after in one Sommer, vnto the greate Turke, that whole Empire was loste? And so maye all his Empire nowe, and shall hereafter by Goddes grace, be loste into chysten mennes handes lykewyse, whan christen people shall bee mended, and growe in goddes fauour agayne. But whan that whole kyngdomes and myghty great Empiers are of so lyttle surety to stande, but bee so soone translated from one manne vnto another, what greate thing can you or I, yea or anye Lorde the greatest in this lande, recken hymselfe to haue, by the possession of an hepe of siluer or golde whyte and yelow metall, not so profitable of theyr owne nature saue for a little glitteryng, as the rude rustie metal of yron.

¶ *Of the unsuretye of landes and possessions*

¶ THE VI. CHAPITER

LANDES and possessions many menne yet much more esteme than money, beecause the landes seme not so casuall as money is or plate, for that though theyr other substaunce may bee stole and taken awaye, yet euermore they thynke that theyr lande wyll lye still where it laye. But what are we the better that oure lande cannot be styred, but will lye still where it lay, while our selfe may be remoued, and not suffered to come nere it? What gret difference is there to vs, whyther our substaunce be mouable or vnmouable, sythe we bee so mouable our selfe, that we maye bee remoued from them bothe, and lese them bothe twayne? sauynge that sometyme in the money is the suretie sommewhat more. For whan we be fayne our self to flee, we maye make shifte to cary some of oure money with vs, whereof our land we cannot carye one ynche.

If oure lande bee a thynge of more suretie than oure money,

howe happeth it than, that in this persecucion we be more ferde to lese it? For yf it be a thing of more suretye, than can it not so sone be loste. In the translacion of these two greate Empyters, Greece first, sith my selfe was borne, and after Surry syncе you were borne too, the land was loste before the money was founde. Oh Cosin Vincent, if ye whole worlde were animated with a reasonable soule (as Plato hadde wente it were) and that it hadde wit and vnderstandyng, to mark and perceiue all thyng, lord God howe the grounde on whiche a Prince buyldeth his palice, would lowde laugh his Lord to scorne, whan he saw him proud of his possession, and heard him boaste himselfe, that he and his bloode are for euer the verye Lordes and owners of ye lande. For than woulde the grounde thinke the while in hymselfe. Ah thou selye poore soule, that wenest thou were halfe a God, and arte amidde thy glorye but a manne in a gay gowne, I that am the ground here ouer whom thou art so prowde, haue hadde an hundred suche owners of me as thou calleste thy selfe, moe than euer thou hast heard ye names of. And some of them that proudly went ouer mine head: lye now low in my bellye, and my syde lyeth ouer them. And manye one shall as thou doest now, cal hymselfe mine owner after thee, yt neyther shall bee sybbe to thy bloude, nor any word heare of thy name. Who ought your castel (Cosyn) thre thousands yere agoe? ¶ *Vyncent.* Three thousand vncle? naye naye in any kyng Christen or heathen, you maye strike of a thyrd part of that well yngouge, and as farre as I wene halfe of the remenaunt to. In far fewer yeres than thre thousand, it may well fortune that a poore plowmannes bloude, maye come vp too a kyngdome: and a kinges right royall kynne on the tother syde fall downe to the plowghe and carte, add neither that king knowe that euer he came fro the cart, nor that carter knowe, that euer he came fro the crowne. ¶ *Anthony.* We finde (cosyn Vincent) in full antique stories manye straunge chaunges, as marueilous as that, come about in the coumpasse of very fewe yeares in effecte. And bee suche thinges than in reason so greatly to bee sette by, that we shoulde esteme the losse at so greate, whan wee see that in kepyng our suretye is so litle? ¶ *Vyncent.* Mary (vncle) but the lesse surety that we haue to kepe it, sith it is a great commoditie to haue it, the farther by so muche and the more lothe we be to forgoe it.

¶ *Anthony.* That reason shall I (Cosyn) turne agaynst youre selfe. For if it be so (as you say) that sythe the thinges be commodious, the lesse suretie that you see you haue of the

kepyng, the more cause you haue to be aferde of the losyng. Than on the tother side, the more that a thing is of his nature such that the commoditie thereof bringeth a manne litle suretye and muche feare, that thyng of reason the lesse haue wee cause to loue. And than the lesse cause yt we haue to loue a thyng, the lesse cause haue we to care therefore, or feare the losse thereof, or be loth to go there from.

¶ *These outwarde goodes or giftes of Fortune, are by two maner wyse to be considered*

¶ THE VII. CHAPITER

WE shal yet (Cosyne) consyder in these outwarde goodes of Fortune, as riches, good name, honest estimacyon, honorable fame, and authority; in all these thynges we shall (I say) consider, that eyther we loue them and sette by them, as thinges commodious vnto vs for the state and condicōn of this present lyfe, or els as thynges that we purpose by the good vse thereof to make thēm matter of our merite, with goddes help in the lyfe after to come. Let vs than fyrist consider them, as thinges sette by and beloued, for the pleasure and commoditie of them, for this present life.

¶ *The lyttle commoditie of riches, being set by but for this present life*

¶ THE VIII. CHAPITER

NOWE rychesse loued, and set by for suche, yf wee consyder it well, the commoditye that we take therof, is not so gret as our owne fonde affeccion and fantasie maketh vs ymagine it. It maketh vs (I saye not naye) gooe much more gay and glorious in sight, garnyshed in sylke: but clothe is within a lyttle as warme. It maketh vs haue great plentye of manye kynde of delicate and delicious vittayle, and thereby to make more excesse, but lesse exquisite and lesse superfluous fare, with fewer surfyttes and fewer feuers growing thereon too, were within a litle as wholesom. Than the labour in the gettyng, the feare in ye kepyng, and the payne in the partynge fro, doe more than counterpayse a great part of all the pleasure and commodity that they bryng. Besides this that ryches is the thing that taketh many times from his mayster, all his pleasure and

his lyfe too. For many a man is for hys riches slayne. And some that kepe theyr riches as a thing pleasaunt and commodious for their life, take none other pleasure in a maner therof in all theyr lyfe, than as though they bare the kay of another mannes coffer, and rather are cōtente to liue in nedinesse miserablye all their dayes, than thei could find in their heart to minishe their hoorde: thei haue suche fantasye to loke thereon. Yea and some menne for feare lest theues should steale it fro them, be their own theues and steale it fro themselfe, whyle they dare not so muche as lette it lye where themselfe maye loke theron: but putte it in a pot and hide it in the grounde, and there let it lye safe tyll they dye and sometime seuen yere after. From whiche place yf the potte hadde bene stollen awaye fwe yere before his death, all the same fyue yeare that he liued after, wenyng alwai that his potte lay safe stylly, what hadde he bene the porer, whyle hee neuer occupyed it after? ¶ *Vyncent.* By my trouth vncle not one peny for ought that I perceyue.

¶ *The little commoditie of Fame, being desyred but for worldly pleasure*

¶ THE IX. CHAPITER

¶ *Anthony.* Let vs now consider good name, honest estimacion, and honorable fame, For these thre thynges are of their owne nature one: and take theyr difference in effect, but of the maner of the comen speache in diuersitie of degrees. For a good name maye a manne haue, be hee neuer so poore. Honest estimacion in ye common takyng of the people, belongeth not vnto any manne but him that is taken for one of some countenance and hauour, and amōng his neighbours had in some reputacion. In the worde of honorable fame, folke conceiue ye renome of great estates, muche and far spoken of, by reason of their laudable actes. Now al this gere vsed as a thing pleasaunte and commodious for this present life, pleasaunt it may seeme to him that fasteneth his fantasy therein, but of the nature of the thing it self, I perceiue no gret commoditie yt it hath, I say of ye nature of the thing it self, because it may be by chānce some occasion of commoditie.

As if it happe that for the good name the poore manne hath, or for the honeste estimacion that a manne of some hauor and substaunce standeth in among his neighbours, or for the honourable fame wherewith the great estate is renomed, if it

happe I say that any man bearyng them the better wyll therefore, doe them therefore any good. And yet as for that, lyke as it maye sometyme so happen, and sometime so happeneth in dede, so maye it happen sometyme on the tother syde, and on the tother side so it somtime happeneth in dede, that suche folke are of somme other enued and hated, and as readylye by them that enuye them and hate them take harme, as they take by them, that loue them good.

But nowe to speake of the thynge it selfe in his own proper nature, what is it but a blaste of another mans mouthe, as soone passed as spoken? whereupon he that setteth his delyte, fedeth hymself but with wynde, whereof be he neuer so full, he hath little substance therin. And many tymes shal he muche deceiue him self. For he shal wene that many praise hym, that neuer speake worde of hym, and thei that doe, say yet muche lesse than he weneth, and farre more seldom to. For they spende not al the day (hee maye bee sure) in talkyng of him alone. And who so commende hym moste, wyll yet (I wene) in euery fowre and twenty hours, winke and forgeat him once. Besydes this, that whyle one talketh wel of hym in one place, another sitteth and sayeth as shrewdely of him in another. And finallye some that most prayse him in his presence behynde hys back mocke hym as fast, and loude laugh him to scorn, and sōme tyme slyly to his owne face too. And yet are ther sōme fooles so fedde wt this fonde fantasie of fame, yt they reioyce and glorye to thynk, how they be continually praised al about, as though al the world dyd nothing els day nor nyght, but euer syt and sing, *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, vpon them.

Of flattery

THE X. CHAPITER

AND into this pleasant fransye of muche foolishe vayne glorye, be there some menne brought sometime, by suche as themselfe doe in a maner hire to flatter theym, and woulde not be content if a man shoulde doe otherwyse, but would bee right angry, not only if a man told them trouth whan thei doe nought in dede, but also if they prayse it but slenderly. ¶ *Vyncent*. Forsooth (Vnkle) this is verye trouth. I haue bene ere this and not very longe agoe, where I sawe so proper experience of this pointe, that I must stoppe youre tale for so long, whyle I tell you myne. ¶ *Anthony*. I praye you (Cosyn) tell on.

¶ *Vyncent*. Whan I was fyrste in Almaine Vnkle, it happed me to bee somewhat faoured wt a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of ye greatest in all that countrey there. And in dede whosoeuer might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre aboue all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harme, and made him abuse many great gyttes that god hadde geuen him. Neuer was he saciate of hearinge his owne prayse.

So happed it one daye, that he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne maner, wherein he liked him selfe so well, that at his diner he sat him thought on thornes, till he myghte here how thei that sat with him at his borde, woulde commende it. And whan he had sitte musing a while, deuysing (as I thought after) vpon some pretty proper waye to bryng it in with all, at the laste for lacke of a better (lest he should haue letted the matter to long) he broughte it euen blontly forth, and asked vs al that satte at his bordes ende (for at his owne messe in the middes ther sat but himself alone) howe well we lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth Vnkle: whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full aunswered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Euery manne was fallēn in so depe a studye, for the fyndyng of some exquisite prayse. For he yt shoulde haue broughte oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion, woulde haue thought himself shamed for euer. Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest vnto the hyghest in good order, as it had bene a great mater of the comon weale, in a right solemayne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte I wyl not saye it (Vnkle for no boaste) mee thoughte by oure Ladye for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel.

And I lyked my selfe the better, beecause mee thoughte my woordes beeyng but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong wherein lettyng my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng. And I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he yt sate next me, and shold saie his sentence after mee, was an vnlearned Prieste, for he coulde speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendacion, the wyly Fox, hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the crafte of flattery, that he wente beyonde me to to farre. And than myght I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one crafte, that in al his whole life studyeth and busieth his witte about no

mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe vnto my selfe, that if euer he and I were matched together at that boorde agayne: whan we should fall to our flattreye, I woulde flatter in latin, yt he should not contend with me no more. For though I could be content to be out runne of an horse, yet would I no more abyde it to be out runne of an asse. But vncle here beganne nowe the game. He that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a greate beneficed man, and not a doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the churche. A worlde it was to see howe he marked euery mannes worde that spake before him. And it semed that euery worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it for the cumbraunce that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne euen swette with the laboure, so that he was fain in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit in conclusion whan it came to his course, we that had spokēn before him, hadde so taken vp al among vs before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wyse worde to speake after.

¶ *Anthony*. Alas good manne, amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold haue lente hym one. ¶ *Vincente*. It needed not as happe was Vnkle. For he found out such a shift, that in hys flatteryng he passed vs all the mayny.

¶ *Anthony*. Why, what sayde he Cosyn? ¶ *Vyncent*. By our Ladye Vnkle not one worde. But lyke as I trow Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the Paynter in the table that he payneted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorowfull countenaunces of the other noble menne of Greece that behelde it, spente oute so much his craft and hys cunnyng, that whan he came to make the coūtenance of king Agamēmnon her father, whiche hee reserued for the laste, leste yf hadde made his vysage before, he muste in some of the other after, either haue made the vysage lesse dolorous than he coulde, and therby haue forborne some parte of his praise, or doyng the vttermoste of his crafte, myght haue happed to make some other looke more heauily for the pitie of her payne, than her owne father, which hadde ben yet a farre greater faut in his painting, whan he came I saye to the makynge of his face therefore laste of al, he could deuise no maner of newe heauy chere and countenaunce for her father, but that he hadde made there al ready in som of the tother, a much more heauy before. And therfore to thentent that no man should see what maner countenaunce it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fayne to paynte hym, holdyng hys face in his handkercher.

The like pageant in a maner plaide vs there this good aunciente honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde passe al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake neuer a word, but as he that wer rauished vnto heauenwarde wt the wonder of the wisedome and eloquence that my Lordes grace hadde vttered in that Oracion, he sette a longe syghe with an oh from the bottome of hys breste, and helde vppe bothe hys handes, and lyfte vppe his head, and caste vp his eyen into the welkin and wepte.

¶ *Anthony.* Forsooth Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye pro perlye. But was that greate Prelates Oracion Cosyn, any thynge prayse worthye? For you can tell I see well. For you woulde not I wene playe as Juuenall merely discrybeth the blynd Senatour, one of the flatterers of Tyberius the Emperour, that amonge the remenaunte so magnyfyed the greate fyshe that the Emperoure hadde sente for them to shewe them: whyche thys blynde Senatour (Montanus I trowe they called hym) merueyled of as muche as anye that merueyled moste, and manye thynges hee spake thereof, with somme of hys woordes directed thereunto, lookynge hym selfe towarde hys lyfte syde, whyle the fishe laye on hys ryghte syde. You would not I trowe (Cosyne) haue take vpon you to prayse it so, but yf you hadde hearde it.

¶ *Vyncent.* I heard it (vnkle) in deede, and to saye the trouth, it was not to disprayse. Howe be it surelye, sommewhat lesse praise mighte haue serued it, by more a great deale than ye half. But this am I sure, hadde it bene the worste that euer was made, the prayse had not bene the lesse of one heere. For they that vsed to prayse hym to his face, neuer considered howe muche the thing deserued, but howe greate a laude and prayse themselfe coulde geue his good grace.

¶ *Anthony.* Surely Cosyn (as Terence sayth) suche folke make menne of fooles euen starke mad, and muche cause haue their lordes to be right angrye wt them.

¶ *Vyncent.* God hath in dede and is I wene. But as for their Lordes (Vnkle) yf they would after waxe angry with them therefore, they shoulde in my mynde do them very great wrong. Whan it is one of ye things that they speciallye keepe them for. For those that are of such vaineglorious mynde (be thei Lordes or bee they meaner menne) can be much better contented to haue their deuises commēndēd than amended. And require they theyr seruaunt and their frende neuer so speciallye

to tell them the verye trueth, yet shall he better please them, yf he speake them fayre, than if he telleth thēm trueth.

For they bee in the case that *Martialis* speaketh of in an Epigrame, vnto a frēnd of his that required his iudgement how he liked his verses. But he prayed hym in anye wyse to tell hym euen the verye trueth. To whom Marciall made aunswere in this wyse.

*The very trueth of me thou doest require :
The very trueth is this my frende dere :
The very trueth thou wouldest not gladly here.*

And in good fayth vncle the selfesame prelate that I tolde you my tale of, (I dare be bolde to sweare it, I knowe it so surelye) had on a time made of his own drawyng, a certayne treatice yt shoulde serue for a leage betwene that countrey and a greate prynce. In which treatice hymselfe thought that he hadde deuised his artycles so wysely, and endicted thēm so well, that all the worlde woulde allowe them. Whereupon longing sore to bee praysed, he called vnto him a frēnd of his, a manne well learned, and of good worshippe, and very wel expert in those matters, as he that hadde bene diuers times Embassiator for that countrey, and had made many suche treatices himself. Whan he toke him the treatise, and that he hadde redde it, he asked hym howe he lyked it, and sayde: But I praye you heartelye tell me the verye trouth. And that he spake so heartelye, that the tother hadde wente he woulde fayne haue heard the trouth. And in truste thereof, he tolde hym a faulte therein, at the hearyng whereof, he sware in great anger, by the masse thou art a verye foole. The tother afterwarde tolde mee, that he would neuer tell hym trouth agayn.

¶ *Anthony.* Without question (Cosyn) I canne not greatly blame him. And thus them selfe make euery man mocke them, flatter them and deceyue them, those I say that are of suche vayngloryous mynde. For yf they bee contente to here the trouthe, lette them than make muche of those that tel them the trouth, and withdrawe their eare fro them that falselye flatter them, and they shall bee more truely serued, than with twentye requestes, prayinge menne to tell them true. Kyng Ladislaus oure Lorde assoyle his soule, vsed muche this maner among his seruauntes. Whan one of them praysed any dede of his, or any cōdicion in hym, if he perceyued that they sayde but the trouthe, he woulde lette it passe by, vncontrolled. But whan he sawe that thei set a glose vpon it for hys praise of their own

makyng besyde, than would he shortly say vnto them, I pray the good felowe whan thou sayest grace at my borde, neuer bryng in *gloria patri*, without a *sicut erat*. Anye acte that euer I dyd, yf thou report it agayne to myne honoure with a *gloria patri*, neuer reporte it but with a *sicut erat*, that is to wytte, euen as it was and none otherwyse, and lift me not vp with no lyes. For I loue it not. If menne would vse thys way wt them, that thys noble kyng vsed, it wold minish much of their false flattery. I can wel allow that men shoulde commende (keping them within ye bondes of truth) such thinges as they see prayse worthye in other men, to geue them the greaterre courage to thencrease thereof. For menne kepe stil in that point one condicion of children, that prayse must prick them forth. But better it wer to do well and looke for none. Howebeit they that canne not fynde in theyr heart to commende another mannes good deede, shewe themselfe either eniuious, or elles of nature verye colde and dull.

But oute of questyon, he that putteth hys pleasure in the prayse of the people, hath but a fonde fantasye.

For yf his fynger dooe but ake of an hoate blaine, a greate manye mennes mouthes blowyng out his prayse, wyll scantly doe him among them all, half so muche ease, as to haue one boie blow vpon his finger.

¶ *The litle commoditie that menne haue of rowmes, offices, and authority, if thei desyre them but for their worldly commoditie*

¶ THE XI. CHAPITER

LET vs nowe consider in lykewyse, what greate worldye wealthe aryseth vnto menne, by gret offices, rowmes, and authoritie: to those worldye disposed people I saye, that desyre them for no better purpose. For of them that desyre them for better, we shal speake after anon. The great thing that they chiefe like all therein, is that they maye beare a rule, commaunde and contolle other menne, and liue vncommaunded and vncontrolled them selfe. And yet this commoditie toke I so litle hede of, that I neuer was ware it was so great, tyll a good frende of ours merely tolde me once, that his wife once in a gret anger taught it him. For whan her housebande had no list to growe greatlye vpwarde in the worlde, nor neither would labour for office of authorite, and ouer that forsoke a right woorshipful

roume whan it was offred hym, she fel in hand with hym (he tolde me) and all to rated him, and asked hym: what wyll you doe that you list not to put furth youre selfe as other folke doe? wyll you sitte styl by the fire, and make goselinges in the asshes with a sticke as children do? would God I were a manne: and loke what I woulde doe. Why wife quod her housebande what woulde you doe? What? by God goe forwarde with the beste. For as my mother was wonte to saye, God haue mercy on her soule, it is euer more better to rule than to bee ruled. And therefore by God I woulde not I warraunte you bee so foolishe to bee ruled, where I mighte rule. By my trouthe wife quod her housebande in this I dare saye you saye trouth. For I neuer foūnd you willing to be ruled yet.

¶ *Vyncent*. Well (Vnkle) I wote where you bee now wel ynough, she is in dede a stoute master woman. And in good faith for ought that I can see, euen that same womannishe minde of hers, is the greatest commoditie that men recken vpon, in rowmes and offices of authoritie. ¶ *Anthony*. By my trouth and me thinketh very fewe there are of thēm that attaine any great commoditie therein. For first there is in euery kingdom but one, that can haue an office of suchē authoritie, that no manne may comaund him, or controllē hym. None officer cān there stande in that case, but the kynge himselfe, whiche onely vncontrolled or vncommaunded, maye controllē and commaunde all. Nowe of all the remenaunte eche is vnder hym. And yet beesyde him almost euery one is vnder mo commaunders and controllers to, than one, And some manne that is in a great office, commaundeth fewer thynges, and lesse laboure to manye menne that are vnder him, thān som one that is ouer him, commaundeth hym alone.

¶ *Vincente*. Yet it dothe them good (vnkle) that menne muste make courtesy to them, and salute them with reuerence, and stande barehead before them, or vnto some of them knele paraduenture to.

¶ *Anthony*. Well (Cosin) in some parte they doe but playe at gleke, receiue reuerence, and to their coste pay honoure agayne therefore. For excepte (as I sayd) onely a kyng, the greatest in authoritie vnder hym, receyuth not so muche reuerence of no man, as according to reson himselfe dothe honour to him. Nor twentye mennes courtesies do hym not so much pleasure, as his own once knelyng dothe hym payne, if his kne happe to be sore.

And I wiste once a great officer of ye kinges saye (and in good

fayth I weene he saide but as he thought) that twentye menne standing barehead before hym, kepe not his head halfe so warme as to kepe on his owne cappe. Nor he neuer toke so much ease with their being barehed before hym, as he caught once grief with a cough that came vpon hym, by standyng barehed long before the king. But lette it be that these commodityes be somewhat suche as they be, yet than consider whyther that anye incommodities be so ioyned therewith, that a man were almost as good lack both, as haue bothe. Goeth al thyng euermore as euerye one of them woulde haue it? That were as harde as to please al the people at once with one weather whyle in one house the housebande would haue faire weather for his corne, and his wife would haue rain for her lekes. So while thei yt are in authoritie, be not al euermore of one mynde, but sometyme variaunce amonge them, either for the respect of profit, or for contencion of rule, or for maintenaunce of matters, sundrye partes for theyr sundry friendes, it can not be, that both the parties canne haue their owne mynde, nor often are they content whiche see theyr conclusion quayle, but ten tymes they take the myssyng of theyr mynde more displeasauntlye, then other poore men do. And this goth not onely to men of meane authority, but vnto the very greatest. The princes theim selfe, can not haue (you wot wel) al theyr wil. For how were it possible? whyle ech of them almost wold if he might, be lord ouer all the remenant. Then manye men vnder theyr princes in authority, are in yt case, that pryuy malice and enuy many beare them in hart, falsely speake them ful fair, and prayse them with their mouth, which when ther happeth any great fal vnto them ball and bark and bite vpon them like dogs.

Finally, the cost and charge, the daunger and peril of warre, wherin their part is more then a poore mans is, syth yt matter more dependeth vpon them: and many a poore ploughman may syt stil by the fyre while they must aryse and walke.

And somtyme theyr authority falleth by chaunge of their maysters mynde. And of that see we dayly in one place or other ensamples such and so many, that the parable of the philosopher can lacke no testimony, which lykened the seruaunts of great princes vnto the comptours, with which men do cast acompt. For lyke as that countour that standeth sometyme for a farthing, is sodainly set vp and standeth for a thousand pound, and after as sone set downe efte sone beneth to stand for a farthing again, so fareth it (lo) som tyme with those that seeke the waye to rise and grow vp in authority, by the fauour

of greate princes, that as they ryse vp high, so fal thei downe again as low.

Howbeit though a man escape al such aduentures, and abyde in greate authoritie tyl he dye, yet then at the least wyse euery man must leaue it at the last. And that which we cal at last, hath no verye longe tyme to it. Lette a man reken hys yeres that are passed of his age, ere euer he can get vp aloft, and let him whan he hath it first in his fist, reken how longe he shalbe like to liue after, and I wene that then the most part shal haue lyttle cause to reioyce: they shal see the tyme lykelye to be so short, that theyr honour and authoritie by nature shall endure, bysyde the manyfolde chaunces whereby they may leese it more soone. And then when they see that thei must nedes leaue it, the thing which thei did much more set their hart vpon then euer thei had reasonable cause, what sorowe they take therefore, that shal I not nede to tel you. And thus it semeth vnto me Cosyn in good fayth, that sith in the hauyng, the profit is not great, and the displeasures neither smal nor fewe, and of the leesing so many sundrye chaunces, and that by no meane a man can keepe it long, and that to parte ther from, is suche a paynefull grieve, I can see no very great cause, for whyche as an high worldly commodity, menne should greatly desyre it.

¶ *That these outwarde goodes desyred but for worldly welth, be not onely litle good for ye body, but are also much harme for the soule*

¶ THE XII. CHAPITER

AND thus farre haue we considered hitherto, in these outwarde goodes that are called the giftes of fortune, no farther but the slender commoditye that worldlye mynded men haue by them. But nowe if we consider farther, what harme to the soule they take by them, that desyre theim but onely for ye wretched welth of this world, then shal we wel perceiue, how far more happy is he that wel leeseth them, then he that euyl findeth them.

These thinges though they be such as are of their own nature indifferent, that is to wit of themself things neither good nor badde, but are mater that may serue to the tone or the tother, after as men wyl vse them, yet nede we litle to dout it, but that they that desire theym but for theyr worldly pleasure, and for no farther godly purpose, the diuel shal sone turne them from

thinges indifferent vnto thēm, and make thēm thinges very nought. For though that they be indifferent of theyr nature: yet can not the vse of them lightly stand indifferent, but determinately must either be good or bad. And therfore he that desyreth them but for worldly pleasure, desireth theym not for anye good. And for better purpose thēn he desireth thēm, to better vse is he not lykelye to put them, and therfore not vnto good, but consequently to naught.

As for ensample, fyrst consider it in richesse. He that longeth for theym as for thynges of temporall commoditie, and not for any godlye purpose, what good they shal do hym, S. Paule declareth, where he wryteth vnto Timothe, *Qui volunt diuites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et in laqueum diaboli, et desideria multa inutilia et nocua, que mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem.* They that longe to be ryche, fal into temptation, and into the grygne of the dyuel, and into manye desyres vnprofytable and noyous, whych drowne men into death and into perdition. And the holy scrypture sayth also in the xxi. chapiter of the prouerbs: *Qui congregat thesauros, impingetur ad laqueos mortis.* He that gathereth treasures, shall be shoued into the grynnes of deathe. So that where as by the mouthe of Saynte Paule, God saythe that they shal fal into the dyuels grygne, he saythe in the tother place, that they shal bee pushed and shoued in by vyolence. And of trouthe whyle a man desyreth ryches, not for anye good godlye purpose, but for onelye worldlye wealth, it must nedes bee, that he shal haue lytle conscience in the gettyng, but by all euyll wayes that he can inuent, shal labour to gette theym, and then shal he either nygerdly heape them vp together (whych is you wot wel dampnable) or wastefully mysse spend theym about worldly pompe, pryde, and glotonye, wyth occasion of many synnes mo. And that is yet much more dampnable.

As for fame and glorye, desyred but for worldly pleasure, doth vnto the soule inestimable harm. For that setteth mēns hartes vpon hyghe deuyces, and desyres of such thynges as are immoderate and outragious, and by helpe of false flatterers, paffe vp a man in pryde, and make a brotē man lately made of earthe, and that shal agayne shortelye be layed full lowe in earth, and there lye and rot, and turne agayne into earth: take hymselfe in the meane tyme for a god here vpon earthe, and wene to wynne hymselfe to be Lorde of al the earth.

Thys maketh battailes betwene these great prynces, and wyth muche trouble to muche people, and greate effusyon of

bloude, one kynge to looke to raygne in fyue realmes, that can not wel rule one. For howe many hath nowe thys greate Turk, and yet aspireth to mo. And those that he hath, he ordreth euyl, and yet him selfe wurste.

Then offices and roumes of authoritye, if men desyre theym onelye for theyr worldly fantesyes, who can looke that euer they shal occupye theym wel, but abuse theyr authorytye, and doe thereby great hurt? For then shal they fall from indifferencye, and mayntayne false maters of theyr friendes: beare vppe theyr seruauntes and suche as depende vpon theim, with bearing downe of other innocent folke, and not so able to do hurt, as easye to take harme. Then the lawes that are made agaynst malefactoures, shall they make as an olde Philosopher saide to be muche lyke vnto cobwebbes, in whych the lyttle Knattes, and Flyes stycke stylle and hange fast, but the great humble Bees breake them and fly quite thorowe. And then the lawes that are made as a bucler in the defence of innocentes, those shall they make serue for a sworde to cutte and sore wounde theym wyth, and therewith wounde they theyr owne soules sorer. And thus you se Cosyn, that of all these outwarde goodes whyche men call the goodes of fortune, ther is neuer one that vnto them whych long therefore, not for anye godlye purpose, but onely for their worldly welth, hath any great commodity to the body, and yet are they al in suche case besydes that, verye deadly destruccion vnto the soule.

¶ Whither men desyre these outwarde goodes for their onely worldly welth, or for anye good vertuous purpose, thys persecucion of the Turk against the faith wyl declare, and the comfort that bothe twayne may take, in the lesing them thus

¶ THE XIII. CHAPITER

Vincent. Verely (good vncle) thys thynge is so playnelye true, that no man may with any good reason denye it, but I wene vncle also, that there wyl no man say nay. For I see no man that wyl for verye shame confesse, that he desyreteth riches, honoure, and renoume, offices, and roumes of authoritie, for hys onely worldly pleasure. For euerye man woulde faine seme as holye as an horse. And therfore wil euery man saye, and woulde it were so believed to, that he desireth these thinges, (thoughe for his worldly welth a litle so) yet pryncipally to merit therby, thorowe doyng some good therwith. ¶ *Anthony.*

Thys is Cosyn very sure so, that so dothe euerye man say. But firste he that in the desyre thereof, hath his respect therin vnto his worldly welth, as you say but a lytle so, so much as himselfe weneth were but a little, maye soone preue a great deale to muche.

And many men wyll saye so to, that haue pryncipall respecte vnto theyr worldlie commoditie, and vnto godwarde therein lytle or nothing at all, and yet thei pretend the contrary, and that vnto theyr owne harme *Quia dominus non irridetur*: God can not be mocked.

And some peraduenture know not wel their owne affection theym selfe, but there lyeth more imperfeccion secrete in theyr affeccion, than themself are well ware of, whiche onelye God beholdeth. And therfore sayth the prophet vnto God: *Imperfictum meum viderunt oculi tui*: Myne imperfeccion haue thine yien beholden, for whiche the prophet praieth: *Ab occultis meis munda me domine*. Fro myne hydde synnes clense thou mee good Lorde.

But nowe Cosyn this tribulacion of the Turke, if he so persecute vs for the faith, that those that wyll forsake theyr faithe shal keepe theyr goodes, and those shall leese their goodes that wyl not leaue their faithe, this manner of persecucion lo, shal like a touch stone trye them, and shew the fained fro the true mynded, and teache also theym that wene they meane better then thei do in dede, better to discerne themself. For some there are that wene they meane well, whyle they frame theym selfe a conscience, and euer keepe stylly a great heape of superfluous substānce by theym, thinking euer styl that they wyl bethinke theimselfe vpon some good dede, whereon they will well bestowe it once, or that els their executours shall. But nowe if they lye not vnto theim selfe, but keepe theyr goodes for anye good purpose to the pleasure of God in dede, thān shal thei in thys persecucion for the pleasure of God in keping of his faith, be glad for to depart fro them.

And therfore as for al these things, the losse I meane of al these outwarde thinges, that men call the gyftes of fortune, this is me thincketh in thys Turkes persecucion for the faith, consolacion great and sufficient, that sith euerye man that hathe theym, eyther setteth by theym for the worlde or for God, he that setteth by theym for the worlde, hathe as I haue shewed you, lytle profyt by them to the bodye, and great harme vnto the soule, and therfore may wel (if he be wise) reken that he winneth by the losse, althoughe he lost them but bi some comon

chaunce. And muche more happye then, whyle he leeseth them by such a meritorious meane. And on the tother syde, he that keepeth them for some good purpose, entendinge to bestowe theym for the pleasure of God, the losse of theym in this Turkes persecucion for keeping of the faithe, can be no manner grieve vnto him, sith that by his so partynge from them he bestoweth them in such wyse vnto Goddes pleasure, that at the time when he leeseth theym, by no waye coulde he bestowe theym vnto hys hygh pleasure better. For though it had be peraduenture better to haue bestowed them well before, yet sythe he kept them for some good purpose, he woulde not haue left them vnbestowed, if he had foreknowen the chaunce. But being now preuented so by persecucion, that he can not bestow them in that other good waie that he wold, yet while he parteth fro them, because he wil not parte fro the faith, thoghe the diuels Escheatour violently take them from him, yet willinglye geueth he them to God.

¶ *A nother cause for which anye man shoulde be content to forgo hys goodes in the Turkes said persecucion*

¶ THE XIII. CHAPTER

Vincent. I can not in good faithe good Vnkle, saye nay to none of this. And in dede vnto them that by the Turkes ouer runnyng of the countrey, were happed to be spoyled and robbed, and al their substance mouable and vnmouable byrefte and lost alredye, theyr persones onely fled and saufe, I thinke that these consideracions (considered therewith that as you lately sayd, theyr sorow could not amende theyr chaunce) myghte vnto them be good occasion of comfort, and cause theim (as you saide) make a vertue of necessitie. But in the case Vnkle that we nowe speake of, that is to wytte, where they haue yet theyr substaunce vntouched in their own handes, and that the keepynge or the loosing shall hange bothe in their owne handes, by the Turkes offer, vpon the retaynyng or the renouncinge of the Christen faithe, here Vnkle I finde it (as you sayde) that this temptation is most sore and moste perylous. For I feare me that wee shall fynde fewe of suche as haue muche to leese, that shal fynde in theyr hartes so sodainelye to forsake theyr goodes, with all those other things afore rehersed, wherupon theyr worldlye wealth dependeth. ¶ *Anthony.* That feare I muche Cosyn to, but thereby shall it well (as I said) appeare, that

semed they neuer so good and vertuous before, and flatred they themselfe with neuer so gay a glose of good and gracious purpose that they kepte theyr goodes for, yet were theyr hartes inwardly in the deepe sighte of God, not sound and sure such as they should be, and as peraduenture some had them selfe went they had bee, but like a paffe rynge of Paris, holowe, light and counterfeit in deede.

And yet they being euen such, thys would I fayne aske one of them. And I pray you Cosyn take you hys person vpon you, and in this case answer for him. What letteth you woulde I aske (for we will take no smal manne for a sample in thys parte, nor hym that had litle to leese, for such one wer me thyncke so farre from all frame, that woulde cast a waye God for a litle, that he were not worthye to talke with) what letteth I say therfore your Lordshyppe that you bee not gladlye content without anye deliberacion at all, in this kynde of persecucion, rather then to leaue your faith, to let go all that euer you haue at once? ¶ *Vincent.* Sithe you put it Vnkle, vnto me, to make the mater the more plain that I shoulde playe that great mans parte that is so wealthye and hath so muche to leese, albeit I can not be very sure of a nother mans mynde, nor what a nother man woulde saye, yet as farre as myne owne mynde canne coniecture, I shall aunswere in hys parson what I wene woulde be hys lettete.

And therfore to your question I answer, that ther letteth me ye thing that yourselfe may lightly gesse, the lesing of the manyfold cōmodities which I nowe haue, rychesse, and substaunce, landes and great possessions of enheritaunce, with great rule and authoritie here in my countrey. Al whyche thinges the greate Turke graunteth me to keepe stil in peace, and haue thēm enhaūnced to, so that I wil forsake the faithe of Christe. Yea I maye saye to you, I haue a mocion secretelye made me farther, to keepe al thys yet better cheape, that is to witte, not bee compelled vtterly to forsake Christe, nor al the whole Christen faith, but onely some suche partes thereof as may not stande wyth Mahomettes lawe, and onelye grauntyng Mahomete for a true Prophet, and seruing the Turke truelye in hys warres agaynst all Christen kinges, I shall not be letted to prayse Christ also, and to cal hym a good man, and worship him and serue hym to. ¶ *Anthony.* Nay nay my lord, Christ hath not so great neede of your Lordshyppe, as rather then to lese your seruice, he woulde fal at such couenauntes with you, to take your seruice at halffes to serue hym and hys enemye bothe. He hath geuen you playn

warning all ready by Sainte Paule, that he wyll haue in your seruyce no partinge felowe: *Que societas luci ad tenebras?* *Que autem conuentio Christi ad Belial?* What felowshyppe is there betwene light and darkenesse? betwene Christ and Belial? And he hath also plainly shewed you himselfe by his owne mouth: *Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire:* No manne may serue twoo Lordes at once. He wyll haue you beleue al that he telleth you, and do al that he biddeth you, and forbeare al that he forbiddeth you wythout ani maner excepcion. Breake one of his commaundementes, and break al. Forsake one poynte of hys faythe, and forsake al, as for any thanks you get of hym for the remnant. And therfore yf you deuyse as it were indentures betwene God and you, what thing you will doe for him, and what thing you wyll not doe, as though he shoulde holde him content with suche seruice of yours, as your selfe lyst appoинte him, if you make I say such indentures, you shal seale both the partes your selfe, and you get therto none agrement of hym.

And this I saye though the Turke woulde make suche an appointmente with you as you speake of, and would when he had made it, kepe it, wher as he woulde not I warraunt you leaue you so when he had once brought you so farre foorth, but woulde little and lyttle after ere he lefte you, make you deny Christ altogether, and take Mahomet in his steede, and so dothe he in the beginning, whan he wil not haue you beleue him to be God. For surely if he were not God, he were no good man neither, while he playnely sayd, he was God.

But though hee woulde neuer go so farre foorth wyth you, yet Christe wyl, as I sayde, not take your seruice to halves, but will that you shall loue him with al your whole hart. And because that while he was lyuinge here xv. C. yere ago, he foresaw this minde of yours that you haue nowe, wyth which you woulde faine serue him in some such fashion, as you might kepe your worldly substauce still, but rather forsake hys seruice, then put all your substauce from you, he telleth you plaine xv. C. yere ago his owne mouth, that he will no such seruyce of you, saieng: *non potestis deo seruire et mammone,* you can not serue both God and your riches together. And therefore thys thing stablyshed for a playne conclusion which you must nedes graunt if you haue faith, and if you be gone frōm that grounde of faith al redye, then is al our disputacion you wotte well at an end. For whereto should you than rather leese your goodes then forsake your faith, if you haue lost your faith and let it go

alredy? thys point I saye therefore putte first for a grounde, betwene vs bothe twayne agreed, that you haue yet the faith stil, and entend to keepe it alwaye styl in your harte, and are but in doute whither you wil leese al your worldlie substaunce rather then forsake your faithe in your onely worde, now shal I replye to the point of your answer, wherin you tel me the lothnes of the losse, and the cōfōrt of the keeping, letteth you to forgo thēm, and moueth you rather to forsake your faith.

I let passe al that I haue spoken of the small commoditye of theym vnto your body, and of the great harm that the hauing of theym do to your soule. And sythe the promyse of the Turke made vnto you for the keeping of thēm, is the thing that moueth you, and maketh you thus to dout: I aske you first whereby you wotte, that when you haue done al that he will haue you do against Christe to the harme of youre soule, whereby wotte you I say, that he wil keepe you his promise in these thinges, that he promiseth you concerning the retayning of your welbeloued worldlie wealth, for the pleasure of your body.

¶ *Vincent.* What suretye can a man haue of such a greate prince, but hys promise, which for his owne honoure it can not become him to break. ¶ *Anthony.* I haue knownen him and his father afore him to, breake mo promises than fyue, as greate as this is that he shoulde here make with you. Who shal come and cast it in his tethe, and tel him it is a shame for him to be so fikle and so false of his promise? And thēn what careth he for those words, that he wotteth wel he shal neuer heare? not very muche, althoughe they were told him to. If you might come after and complaine your grieve vnto his own person your selfe, you shoulde fynde him as shamefaste, as a friende of myne a merchaunt found once the Sowdane of Surry. To whom beyng certaine yeres about his merchaundise in that countrey, he gaue a greate summe of money for a certayne office meete for hym there for the whyle, whyche he scant hadde him graunted and put in hys hande, but that ere euer it was aught worth vnto him, the Sowdane sodainli sold it to a nother of his own secte, and putte our Hungarien oute. Then came he to him, and humblye put him in remēmbraunce of his graūnt passed hys owne mouthe, and sygned with his owne hande, whereunto the Sowdane answered him with a grim countenaunce: I will thou wyt it Losell, that neither my mouthe nor mine hande shalbe maister ouer me, to bind al my body at their plasure: but I wil so be lord and maister ouer them both that what so euer the tone saye, or the tother write, I wyll be at mine owne libertye

to do what me lyste my selfe, and aske them both no leaue.
And therfore go get the hence out of my countries knaue.

Wene you now my lord, that Soudane and this Turke, beinge bothe of one false secte, you may not finde thēm bothe like false of their promise? ¶ *Vincent*. That must I needes iubard, for other suretye cān there none be had. ¶ *Anthony*. An vnwise iubarding to put your soule in peril of dampnacion, for the keping of your bodily pleasures, and yet without suretye thereof must iubarde them to.

But yet go a litle farther lo. Suppose me that you might be verye sure, that the Turke would breake no promyse wyth you: are you then sure ynough to retaine al your substaunce styl? ¶ *Vincent*. Yea than. ¶ *Anthony*. What if a man shoulde aske you how longe? ¶ *Vincent*. How longe? As longe as I lyue. ¶ *Anthony*. Well let it bee so then. But yet as farre as I canne see, thoughe the great Turke fauour you neuer so muche, and lette you keepe youre goodes as longe as euer you liue, yet yf it happe that you bee thys daye fiftie yeare olde, all the fauoure he can shewe you, can not make you one daye younger to morrowe, but euerye daye shall you waxe elder then other, and then within a while muste you for all his fauoure leese all. ¶ *Vincent*. Well a man woulde be glad for all that, to be sure not to lak while he lyueth. ¶ *Anthony*. Well then if the great Turke geue you your good: can there than in all your life none other take them from you againe. ¶ *Vincent*. Verelye I suppose no. ¶ *Anthony*. Maye he not leese this countrei againe vnto Christen men, and you with the taking of this waye, fall in the same peryll then, that ye woulde nowe eschewe? ¶ *Vincent*. Forsoothe I thincke that if he gette it once, he wyl neuer lese it after again in our daies. ¶ *Anthony*. Yes bi Gods grace. But yet yf he leese it after youre dayes, there goeth your childdrens inheritaunce awaie againe.

But bee it nowe that he coulde neuer lese it, could none take your substaunce from you than? ¶ *Vincent*. No in good faithe none. ¶ *Anthonye*. No? none at all? not God? ¶ *Vincent*. God? what yes perdy, who douteth of that? ¶ *Anthony*. Who? Marye he that doubteth whither there be any God or no. And that there lacketh not some such, the prophet testifieth where he saythe: *Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est Deus*: The foole hathe saide in his harte, there is no God. Wyth the mouthe the moste foolyshe wyll forbeare to saye it vnto other folke, but in the harte they lette not to saye it softelye to theym selfe. And I feare me ther be mani mo such fooles than euerye man

woulde wene there were, and woulde not let to saye it opēly to, if they forbare it not more for dreade or of shame of men, then for any feare of God.

But nowe those that are so frantike foolyshe, as to weene there were no God, and yet in their wordes confesse him, thought that, as Sainte Paule saithe, in their deedes they denye him, wee shall lette theim passe til it please God shewe him selfe vnto theim, eyther inwardelie by tyme by hys mercifull grace, or elles outwardlye, but ouer late for theym by hys terryble iudgement.

But vnto you my Lorde, sithe you beleue and confesse lyke as a wise man shoulde, that thought the Turke kepe you promise in letting you kepe your substaunce, because you do hym pleasure in the forsaking of your faith, yet God whose faythe you forsake, and therein do hym dyspleasure, maye so take them fro you, that the great Turke with all the power he hathe, is not able to keepe you theym, why will you bee so vnwyse wyth the losse of youre soule, too please the greate Turke for youre goodes, whyle you wotte well that God whom you displease therewith mai take them from you to?

Besides this sithe you belieue there is a God, you can not but belieue ther with, that the great Turke canne not take youre good from you, withoute his will or sufferaunce, no more then the diuell coulde fro Job. And thinke you then, that yf hee wyll suffer the Turke take awaye your good, all bee it that by the keepinge and confessing of his faithe you please him, hee wyll when you displease him by forsakinge his faithe, suffer you of those goodes that you gette or keepe thereby, to reioyce or enioye anye benefyte. ¶ *Vincent.* God is gracious, and thought that menne offendeth him, yet he suffereth them manie times to liue in prosperitie longe after. ¶ *Anthony.* Long after? naye by my trouthe my Lorde, that dothe he no manne. For howe canne that bee that hee shoulde suffer you lyue in prosperitie longe after, when your whole life is but shorte in all together, and either almoste halfe thereof or more then halfe, you thinke your selfe I dare saye, spent out alredie before? Canne you burne out half a shorte candell, and then haue a long one lefte of the remnaunt.

. There canne not in thys worlde be a wursse mynde then that a man to delite and take comfort in anie commodytye, that hee taketh by synnefull meane.

For it is the verye straignt waye towarde the taking of boldnesse and corage in synne, and fynallye to fall into infidelitye,

and thyncke that God careth not, nor regardeth not, what thynges menne doe here, nor what mynde we be of.

But vnto suche minded folke speaketh holye scripture in thys wyse: *Noli dicere peccauit, et nihil mihi accidit triste: patiens enim redditor est dominus*: Saye not, I haue synned, and yet there hath happed me none harme, for God suffereth before he stryke. But as Saynte Austyne saythe, the lenger that he taryeth or he stryke, the sorer is the stroke when he stryketh.

And therefore if ye wyll well do, reken your selfe verye sure, that when you deadlye displease God for the getting or ye keping of your goodes, God shall not suffer those goodes to do you good, but eyther shall he take theym shortelye from you, or suffer you too keepe theym for a lyttle while to your more harme, and after shall he when you least looke therefore, take you awaye from them.

And then what a heape of heauynesse wyll there enter into youre hearte, when you shall see that you shall so sodaynelye goo from youre goodes, and leaue theym here in the earthe in one place, and that your bodye shall be putte in the earthe in another place, and (whiche then shall bee moste heauynesse of al) when you shal feare (and not wythoute great cause) that your soule shall firste foorthwith and after that at the fynal iudgement your bodye to be dryuen downe deepe towarde the centrye of the earthe, into the fyrye pytte and doungeon of the dyuell of hell, there to tarye in torment worlde without ende.

What goodes of this worlde canne anye man imagine, whereof the pleasure and commoditye coulde be suche in a thousande yeare, as were able to recompence that intollerable payne, that ther is to be suffered in one yere? yea or one daye? or one houre either? And then what a madnesse is it for the poore pleasure of your worldly goods of so fewe yeares, to caste youre selfe both bodye and soule, into the euerlastynge fyre of hell, whereof there is not mynysched the mountenaunce of a momente, by the lyenge there the space of an hundred thousand yeares. And therefore oure Sauioure in few woordes, concluded and confuted all these folyes of theim, that for the short vse of this worldly substānce, forsake hym, and hys faythe, and sell theyr soules vnto the dyuell for euer, where he saythe: *Quid prodest homini si vniuersum mundum lucretur, anime vero sue detrimentum patiatur*: what auayleth it a man if he wanne all the whole worlde, and loste hys soule? Thys were me thyncketh cause and occasyon inougue, to hym that hadde neuer so muche parte of thys world in hys hand, to bee content rather to leese it al, than

for the retayninge or encreasyng of hys worldly goodes, too leese and destroye hys soule.

¶ *Vincent.* Thys is good Vnkle, in good faythe verye true. And what other thinge any of them that wold not for thys be contēnt, haue for to alledge in reason for the defence of theyr foly, that canne I not imagine, nor list not in this matter to playe theyr parte no lenger. But I praye God gyue me the grace to playe the contrarye part in
 deede, and that I neuer for
 anye goodes or substāunce
 of this wretched world,
 forsake
 my
 faith toward
 God, neither in hart
 nor tounge, as I truste in
 his greate goodnes I
 neuer shal.
 (.:)

¶ *Thys kynde of tribulacion trieth what mynde menne haue to
 theyr goodes, whyche they that are wyse wyll at the fame thereof,
 see well and wysely layed vp safe before*

¶ THE XV. CHAPITER

Anthony. Me thyncketh Cosyn, that this persecucion, shall not onelye (as I sayde before) trye mennes hartes when it commeth, and make them know theyr owne affeccions, whyther they haue a corrupt greedie couetous mynde or not, but also the verye fame and expectacion thereof, maye teache them this lesson ere euer the thinge fall vpon them it selfe, to theyr no little fruite, if they haue the wytte and the grace to take it in tyme whyle they maye. For nowe may thei finde sure places to lay theyr treasure in, so that all the Turkes armye shall neuer finde it oute. ¶ *Vincent.* Marye Vnkle that waye they wyl I warrant you not forgette, as neare as theyr wyttes wyl serue them. But yet haue I knownen some, that haue ere thys thought, that they had hyd theyr money safe and sure inoughe, digging it full deepe in the grounde: and haue myssed it yet when they came againe and haue founde it digged out and caryed awaye to theyr handes.

¶ *Anthonie.* Naye fro theyr handes I wene ye woulde saye.

And it was no maruaile. For some such haue I knownen too. But they haue hydde theyr goodes foolishly in such place as they were well warned before that they shoulde not. And that were they warned by hym, that they well knewe for suche one, as wist well inough what woulde come thereon. ¶ *Vincent*. Then were they more then madde. But dyd he tell theym too, where they shoulde haue hyd it to haue it sure? ¶ *Anthony*. Yea by saint Mary did he, for els had he tolde theim but halfe a tale. But he tolde theym an whole tale, byddinge theym that they shoulde in no wyse hide their treasour in the ground, and he shewed them a good cause. For ther theues vse to digge it out, and steale it awaye. ¶ *Vincent*. Why where shoulde they hyde it then sayde he? For theues may hap to fynde it out in any place. ¶ *Anthony*. Forsoothe he counsaileth them to hide theyr treasour in heauen, and there laye it vppe. For there it shall lye safe. For thither he saide there can no theefe come, tyll he haue lefte hys theft, and be waxen a true man fyrst. And he that gaue this counsaile, wyst what he said well inough. For it was oure Sauioure hym selfe, whyche in the sixte chapter of Sainte Mathewe saythe: *Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra, vbi erugo et tinea demolitur, et vbi fures effodiunt et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in celo, vbi nec erugo, neque tinea demolitur, et vbi fures non effodiunt nec furantur. Vbi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum*: Horde not vppe youre treasures in earthe, where the rust and the mothe freate it oute, and where theues dygge it oute and steale it awaye. But hoorde vppe your treasures in heauen, where neyther the rust nor the mothe freate theim oute, and where theeues dygge theym not oute, nor steale them away. For wher as is thy treasure, there is thyne hart too.

If wee woulde well consyder these woordes of oure Sauiour Christ, we shoulde as me thyncke neede no more counsayle at all, nor no more comfort neither, concernynge the losse of oure temporall substaunce in this Turkes persecucion for the faythe. For here oure Lorde in these woordes teacheth vs, where wee maye laye vp oure substaunce saufe, before the persecucion come.

If we putte it into the poore mens bosoms, there shall it lye saufe. For who woulde go serche a beggers bag for money? If we delyuer it to the poore for Christes sake, we delyuer it vnto Christe himselfe. And then what persecutour canne there be so strong, as to take it out of his hande. ¶ *Vincent*. These thinges are Vnkle vndoubtedlye so true, that no man maye with

woordes wrestle therewith, but yet euer there hangeth in a mannes harte, a lothenesse to lacke a lyuynge. ¶ *Anthonye.* There dothe in deede, in theirs that either neuer or but seldom heare anye good counsayle there againste, and when they heare it, harken it but as they woulde an idle tale, rather for a pastyme, or for the maner sake, then for anye substancial entent and purpose to folowe good aduertisement, and take anye fruite thereby. But verelye if we woulde not onelye laye oure eare, but also oure hearte thereto, and consider that the saynge of oure Sauyoure Christe, is not a Poetes fable, nor an Harpers songe, but the verye holye woerde of almyghtye God hymselfe, we would (and wel we might) be full sore ashamed in our selfe, and full sorye to, when wee felte in oure affeccion those woordes, too haue in oure hartes no more strength and wayghte, but that wee remayne still of the same dull mynde as we did before we hearde them.

Thys manner of ours, in whose breastes the greate good counsayle of God no better settleth nor taketh no better roote, maye well declare vs, that the thornes, and the bryers, and the brambles of oure worldye substaunce, growe so thicke and sprynge vppe so hyghe in the grounde of oure hartes, that they strangle (as the gospell saythe) the woerde of God that was sowen therein. And therefore is God verye good Lorde vnto vs, when he causeth lyke a good husband man, his folke to come on fielde (for the persecutours be his folke to this purpose) and with their hookes and theyr stocking yrons, grubbe vppe these wycked weedes and busshes of oure earthlye substaunce, and carye them quyte awaye from vs, that the woerde of God sowen in oure hartes maye haue roume therein, and a glade rounde aboue, for the warme sunne of grace, to come to it, and make it growe. For surely those woordes of our Sauiour, shall wee finde full true: *vbi est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum*, wher as thi treasure is, there is also thine harte. If we lay vp oure treasure in earthe, in earthe shall be oure hartes. If we sende oure treasure into heauen, in heauen shall we haue oure hartes.

And surelye the greatest conforte that anye man maye haue in his trybulacion, is to haue hys harte in heauen.

If thine harte were in deede oute of thys worlde and in heauen, all the kyndes of torment that all this world coulde deuyse, coulde putte thee to no payne here. Lette vs then sende oure heartes hence thither in suche maner as we maye, by sending thyther oure worldye substaunce hence, and lette vs neuer doubtē it, but we shall (that once done) fynde our

harts so conuersaunt in heauen, with the glad consideracion of oure folowing the gracious counsaile of Christ, that the comfort of his holy spirit inspired vs therfore, shall mitigate, minishe, aswage, and in a manner quenche, the greate furious ferooure of the Payne, that we shal happen to haue by his louing sufferaunce for our farther meryte in oure tribulacion.

And therefore lyke as if wee sawe that wee shoulde bee wythin a whyle dryuen oute of this lande, and fayne to flye into a nother, we woulde wene that man were madde, which woulde not be content to forbeare his goodes here for the while, and sende them into that lande before hym, where hee sawe he shoulde lyue al the remnaunt of his lyfe, so maye wee veryly thinck yet oure selfe muche more madde (seeinge that wee be sure it canne not bee longe ere we shall bee sent spyghe of oure teethe oute of this worlde) yf the feare of a little lacke, or the loue to see oure goodes here aboute vs, and the lothenesse too parte from theym for this litle while whiche we may keepe theym here, shall bee able too lette vs fro the sure sendyng theym before vs in to the tother worlde, in whiche wee maye be sure to lyue wealthylye with theim yf we sende them thyther, or elles shortelye leaue theym here behynde vs, and than stande in greate iepardye there to lyue wretches for euer.

¶ *Vincent.* In good fayth good Vnkle, me thincketh that concernyng the losse of these outwarde thinges, these consideracions are so sufficient confortes, that for

myne owne part saue onely grace
wel to remēmber theim, I
woulde me think
desyre no
more.

¶ *Another conforte and corage againste the losse of
worldlye substaunce*

¶ THE XVI. CHAPTER

Anthony. Much lesse then thys maye serue Cosyn, with callinge and trusting vpon Goddes help, without whiche, muche more than thys can not serue.

But the ferooure of the Christen faythe so sore faynteth nowe adayes and decayeth, commynge from hotte vnto luke warme, and from luke warme almooste too kaye colde, that menne muste nowe be fayne as at a fyre that is almost oute, to laye

many drye styckes thereto, and vse muche blowing thereat. But elles woulde I weene (by my trouthe) that vnto a warme faithfull manne, one thynge alone wherof we spake yet no worde, were conforte inougue in this kynde of persecucion, against the losse of all hys goodes.

¶ *Vincent.* What thynge maye that be Vnkle? ¶ *Anthonye.* In good faythe Cosyn, euen the bare remembraunce of the pouertye that our Sauyoure wyllingly suffred for vs. For I verylye suppose, that if there were a greate kynge, that hadde so tender loue to a seruaunte of his, that he had to helpe hym oute of daunger, forsaken and leaste of all hys worldelye wealthe and roialtye, and become poore and needie for his sake, that seruaunt coulde skante be founden that were of suche an vnynde vyllayne courage, that yf hymselfe came after to some substaunce, woulde not wyth better wyll leese it all agayne, than shamefullye to forsake suche a mayster.

And therefore as I saye, I doe surelye suppose, that if we woulde wel remember and inwardlye consider the greate goodnes of oure Sauioure towarde vs, not yet beyng hys poore synnefull seruautes, but rather hys aduersaryes and hys enemyes, and what wealthe of thys worlde that hee wyllinglye forsooke for oure sake beinge in deede vniuersall kyng therof, and so hauynge the power in hys owne hande to haue vsed it if he hadde woulde, in steede whereof (too make vs ryche in heauen) hee lyued here in needynesse and pouertye all hys lyfe, and neyther woulde haue authoritye, nor keepe neither landes nor goodes: the deepe consyderacion and earnest aduisement of this one poynte alone, were able to make anye kynde Christen manne or woman, well content rather for hys sake agayne to giue vp all that euer God hath lent them (and lent them hathe he all that euer they haue) than vnyndelye, and vnfaythfullye to forsake hym. And hym they forsake, if that for feare they forsake the confessyng of hys Chrysten faythe.

And therefore to fynyshe thys peece wyth al, concerningg the dread of lesynge oure outwarde worldlye goodes, lette vs consider the slender commoditie that they bringe, with what laboure they be boughte, howe lyttle whyle they abyde with whom so euer they abyde longest, what Payne theyr pleasure is myngled wyth all, what harme the loue of them dothe vnto the soule, what losse is in the keepynge, Christes faythe refused for theym, whatwynning in the losse, if we leese theym for Goddes sake, howe muche more profytale they bee well gyuen then euyll kepte, and fynallye what vnyndnesse it were if we would

not rather forsake them for Christes sake, than vnfaythefullie forsake Christe for theym, whyche whyle he lyued for oure sake forsooke all the worlde, bysyde the sufferynge of shamefull and paynefull deathe, whereof wee shall speake after.

If wee these thynges I saye wyll consyder well, and wyll pray God wyth hys holye hande to prynt them in oure hartes, and wyll abyde and dwell stylle in the hope of hys healpe, hys trouthe shall (as the Prophet sayeth) so compasse vs aboute wyth a pauyce, that wee shall not neede to be afearde *ab incursu et demonio meridiano*, of this incursion of thys myddedaye dyuell, thys open playne persecucion of the Turke, for anye losse that wee canne take by the byryuinge from vs of our wretched worldlye goodes, for whose shorte and small pleasure in thys lyfe forborne, we shall be wyth heauenlye substaunce euerlast- ynglye recompenced of God, in ioyfull blysse and glory.

¶ Of bodily paine, and that a man hath no cause to take discomfort in persecucion, though he feele hym selfe in an horroure at the thinckyng vpon bodelye payne

¶ THE XVII. CHAPTER

Vincent. Forsoothe Vnkle as for these outwarde goodes, you haue so far foorth said, that albeit no man canne be sure what strength he shall haue, or howe faynte and howe feable he maye happe to finde himself when he shal come to the pointe, and therefore I canne make no warrauntise of my selfe, seyng that Sainte Peter so sodaynelye faynted at a womannes woerde, and so cowardlye forsooke his maister, for whom he had so boldlye foughte within so fewe houres before, and by that fall in forsakynge, wel perceiued that he hadde be to rash in his promise, and was wel worthye to take a fall, for puttinge so ful trusste in him selfe, yet in good faith me thinketh now (and God shall I trust helpe me to keepe this thought stylle) that yf the Turke should take all that I haue vnto my verye shyrte, except I would forsake my faithe, and offer it me all agayne wyth fyue tymes as muche thereto to fall into his secte, I woulde not once

stycke thereat, rather to forsake it euerye whit, than of Christes holy faithe to forsake any poynt.

But surelye good Vnkle, whan I bethyncke me farther on the grieve, and the paine that maye tourne vnto my fleshe, here finde I the feare that forceth mine harte to tremble.

¶ *Anthony.* Neither haue I cause therof to meruayle, nor you Cosyn cause to be dismayde therefore. The greate horrour and feare that oure Sauiour hadde in his owne fleshe againste hys painefull passion, maketh me lytle to meruaile. And I maye wel make you take that conforte to, that for no such maner of grudging felte in your sensuall partes, the fleshe shrinckynge at the meditacion of Payne and deathe, your reason shal giue ouer, but resist it, and manlie maister it. And though you woulde faine flye from the painefull deathe, and be loth to comee therto, yet may the meditacion of his great greuous agonye moue you, and hymselfe shall (if you so desire hym) not faile to woorke with you therein, and gette and giue you the grace that you shal submytte and conforme your wil therein vnto his, as he dydde his vnto his father, and shall thereupon be so comforted wyth the secrete inwarde inspiracion of hys holye spirite, as hee was wyth the personall presence of that Aungell that after his agonye came and comforted hym, that you shall as his true disciple folowe hym, and with good wil without grudge do as he dydde, and take youre crosse of Payne and passion vpon your backe, and dye for the truthe with him, and thereby reigne with him crowned in eternall glorye.

And thys I saye to gyue you warning of the thing that is truthe, to the entente when a man feeleth suche an horrour of death in his harte, he shuld not therby stand in outragious feare that hee were fallynge. For manye a suche man standeth for all that feare full faste, and finallye better abydeth the brunt (when God is so good vnto him as to bring him therto, and encorage him therein) than dothe some other that in the begininge feeleth no feare at all. And yet maye it bee, and most often so it is. For God hauynge manye mancions, and al wonderfull wealthfull in his fathers house, exalteth not euery good man vp to the glorye of a Martyr, but foreseinge theyr infirmitie, that though thei be of good wil before, and peraduenture of right good corage to, woulde yet play saint Peter, yf they were broughte to the point, and thereby bring their soules into the peril of eternal dampnacion, he prouideth otherwise for theym before they come thereat, and either findeth a way that menne shall not haue the minde to lay any handes vpon

thēm, as he found for his disciples whēn him self was willingly takēn, or that if thei set hand on them, thei shal haue no power to hold thēm as he foūnd for S. John theuangelist whiche let his sheete fall fro him, whereupon they caught hold and so fledde hymselfe naked awaye, and escaped from theym, or thoughē they holde him, and bring hym to prysōn too, yet God sometime deliuereth theim thence, as he dyd Saint Peter. And sometime he taketh them to him out of the prysōn into heauen, and suffereth theim not to come to theyr torment at all, as he hath done by many a good holye manne. And some he suffereth to be brought into the tormēnts, and yet suffreth thēm not to dye therin, but lyue many yeares after and dye, their naturall deathe, as he dydde by Sainte John the Euaungelyste, and by manye a nother moe, as wee maye wel see both by sundrye storyes, and in the pistles of Saint Cipriane also.

And therfore which way God wyll take with vs, we can not tel. But surely if we be true Christen menne, thys can we wel tel, that without any bold warrauntise of our selfe, or foolyshe truste in oure owne strengthe, we be bounden vpon paine of dampnacion, that we be not of the contrary minde, but that we wyl with his helpe (howe loth so euer we feele our fleshe thereto) rather yet than forsake hym or hys faithe afore the worlde (whiche yf we doe, he hathe promised to forsake vs afore his father and al his holy companye of heauen) rather I saye then wee woulde so doe, wee woulde wyth hys helpe endure and sustaine for his sake all the tormentrye that the dyuel with al his faithlesse tormentours in thys worlde woulde deuyse. And then whēn we be of this mynde, and submyt our wil vnto his, and cal and pray for hys grace, we can tel wel inouge that he will neuer suffer them to put more vpon vs, then his grace will make vs able to beare, but wyll also with theyr temptaciōn, prouide for vs a sure way. For *fidelis est deus* (saithe Saynte Paule) *qui non patiatur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed dat etiam cum tentacione prouentum*: God is (saithe the apostle) faythfull, whyche suffereth you not to be tempted aboue that you maye beare, but giueth also with the temptacion awaye out. For either as I sayde he wil keepe vs oute of theyr handes (thoughe he before suffered vs to bee feared wyth theym to proue oure faythe wythall, that wee maye haue by thexaminacion of oure owne mynde some conforte, in hope of hys grace, and some feare of oure owne frayltye to dryue vs to call for grace) or elles if we fall in theyr handes (so that we fall not fro the trust of hym, nor cease to call for hys helpe) hys truthe shall (as the

prophet saith) so compasse vs aboue with a pauyce, that wee shall not neede to feare thys incursion of thys midday deuyll. For either shall these Turkes hys tormēntours that shall enter this lande, and persecute vs, either they shal I say not haue the power to touche oure bodies at all, or elles the shorte payne that they shall put vnto oure bodies, shall turne vs to eternall profytte, bothe in our soules and in our bodyes to. And therefore Cosin to begynne with, let vs be of good conforte. For sith we be by oure faithe verye sure, that holye scripture is the verye woerde of God, and that the woerde of God can not be but true, and that we see that by the mouthe of his holye Prophet, and by the mouthe of hys blessed Apostell also, God hathe made vs so faythfull promys, bothe that he wyll not suffer vs to be tempted aboue oure power, but wyll bothe prouyde a waye oute for vs, and that he wyll also rounde aboue so compasse vs wyth hys pauyce, and defende vs that we shall haue no cause to feare thys myddaye diuell wyth all his persecucion, wee can not nowe but be verye sure (except we be verye shamefullye cowardous of harte, and towarde God in faythe oute of measure faynte, and in loue lesse then luke warme, or waxen euene kaye colde) we maye be verye sure I saye, that eyther God shall not suffer the Turkes to enuade this lande, or if they doe, God shall prouyde such resistence, that they shall not preuayle, or if they preuaile, yet, if wee take the waye that I haue tolde you, we shall by their persecucion take little harme, or rather none harme at all, but that that shall seme harme, shal in deede be too vs none harme at all, but good. For if God make vs and kepe vs good menne, as he hathe promised to doe, yf wee praye wel therefore, then saith holye scripture: *Bonis omnia cooperantur in bonum*, vnto good folke al things turne them to good.

And therfore Cosyn, sith that God knoweth what shall happen and not wee, lette vs in the meane while wyth a good hope in the helpe of Goddes grace, haue a good purpose wyth vs of sure standinge by his holye faythe againste all persecusions, from whyche yf we shoulde, whiche our Lorde forbedde, hereafter either for feare or payne, for lacke of his grace least in oure owne defaute, myshappe to declyne, yet hadde wee bothe wonne the well spent tyme in thys good purpose before, to the mynismente of oure payne, and were also muche the more lykelye, that God shoulde lift vs vppe after oure fall, and giue vs hys grace agayne.

Howe be it if thys persecucion come, we be by thys medita-

cion and wel cōtinued entent and purpose before, the better strengthed and confirmed, and muche the more lykelye for to stande in deede. And if it so fortune (as wyth Goddes grace at mens good prayers and amendment of oure euyll lyues it maye fortune full well) that the Turkes shall eyther be well withständen and vanquished, or paraduenture not inuade vs at al, than shal we perdy by this good purpose, get oure selfe of God a very good cheape thank.

And on the tother syde, whyle wee nowe thincke thereon (as not to think thereon in so great lykelyhood thereof, I wene no wyse man canne) yf we shoulde for the feare of worldly losse, or bodyly payne, framed in our owne myndes, thyncke that we wolde gyue ouer, and to saue our goodes and our lyues, forsake our sauour by denyall of hys faythe, then whyther the Turkes come or come not, we be gone fro God the while. And than if they come not in dede, or come and be dryuen to flyght, what a shame shoulde thys be to vs before ye face of God, in so shamefull cowardous wyse to forsake hym, for feare of that payne, that we neuer felte nor neuer was fallyng towarde vs. ¶ *Vincent*. By my trouth Vnkle I thanke you. Me thinketh that though you neuer sayde more in the matter, yet haue you euen with thys that you haue of ye fear of bodyly paine in thys persecucion spoken here alredye, meruelously comforted myne hart. ¶ *Anthony*. I am gladde Cosyn yf your hart haue taken comfort therby. But and if you so haue, giue God the thanke and not me: for that worke is his and not myne. For neyther am I able ani good thing to say, but by him, nor al ye good words in ye world, no not the holy woordes of God hymselfe, and spoken also wyth his owne holy mouthe, can be able to profyte the man wyth the sounde entryng at hys eare, but if the spirite of God therewyth inwardlye woorke in hys soule. But that is hys goodnes euer redy to do, except the let be through the vntowardnes of oure owne foward wyl.

¶ *Of comfort against bodily paine, and first against captiuitye*

¶ THE XVIII. CHAPITER

AND therefore nowe beyng somewhat in conforte and courage before, wherby we may the more quietly consider euery thyng (whyche is somewhat more harde and difficile to doe, when the hearte is before taken vp and oppressed wyth the troublous affeccion of heauy sorowful feare) let vs examyne the weyghte

and the substaunce of those bodylye paynes, as the sorest parte of thys persecucion, whyche you rehearsed before, whyche were (if I remember you ryght) thraldome, imprisonment, paynefull and shameful death. And first lette vs (as reason is) begin with the thraldome, for that was as I remember the first. ¶ *Vincent.* I pray you good Vnkle say then somewhat thereof. For me thinketh Vnkle that captiuytye is a merueilous heauy thinge, namelye whan they shall (as they most comonlye do) cary vs farre frōm home into a straūnge vncouth lande.

¶ *Anthony.* I can not say nai, but that some griefe it is Cosyn in deede. But yet as vnto me not halfe so muche, as it woulde bee if they coulde carye me out into anye suche vnownen countrey, that God coulde not wyt where, nor fynde the meane to come at me. But in good faithe Cosyn, nowe yf my transmigracion into a straunge countrey, shoulde be any great griefe vnto me: the faute shoulde be much in my selfe. For sythe (I am verye sure) that whether so euer men conuey me, God is no more verylye here, then he shal be there: yf I get (as I maye yf I wyll) the grace to sette myne whole harte vpon him, and long for nothing but hym, it can then make no greate matter to my minde, whither they carye me hence or leaue me here. And then if I fynde my minde much offended therewyth, that I am not stil here in myne owne countrey, I muste consyder that the cause of my griefe, is myne owne wronge imagynacion, whereby I begyle my self with an vntrue perswasion, weeninge that thys were myne owne country, where as of trouthe it is not so. For as Saynte Paule sayth: *non habemus hic manentem ciuitatem, sed futuram inquirimus.* We haue here no cytē nor dwellynge countrey at all, but we seeke for one that we shall come to.

And in what countreye so euer we walk in this world, we be but as pilgrymes and wayfaryng men.

And if I shoulde take anye countrey for myne owne, it must be the countri to which I come, and not the country fro which I came. That country that shalbe to me thēn for a while so straūnge shal yet perdye be no more straunge to me, nor lēnger straunge to me neither, then was myne owne natvie country when I came firste into it. And therefore if that poynte of my beinge farre from hence, be verye greuous to me, and that I fynde it a great Payne that I am not wher I would be, that grief shall greate parte growe for lacke of sure setting and settling my mynde in God where it shoulde be. Which faut of myne when I mende, I shall soone ease my griefe.

Now as for al the other grieves and paines that are in captiuitye, thraldome, and bondage, I can not denye but manye there are and great. How be it, they seme yet somewhat (what saye I somewhat? I may say a greate deale) the more, because we tooke our former libertie, for more a great deale then in deede it was. Let vs therefore consider the matter thus.

Captiuitie, bondage, or thraldom, what is it but the vyonente restrainte of a man, being so subdued vnder the dominion, rule, and power of an other, that he must do what the tother lyst to commaunde hym, and maye not do at hys libertye suche thynges as he lyste hymselfe.

Now when we shal be caried away with a Turke, and bee fayne to be occupied aboute suche thinges as he list to set vs, here shall we lament the losse of our libertye, and thincke we beare an heauy burden of our seruile condicion, and so to do we shal haue (I graunt wel) many times great occasion. But yet shoulde we (I suppose) set thereby somewhat the lesse, if we would remember well what libertye that was that we lost, and take it for no larger then it was in deede. For wee reken as though we myght before do what wee woulde. But therein we deceiue oure selfe. For what free man is there so free, that can bee suffered to doe what him lyst? In many thinges God hathe restrained vs by his highe commaundement: so many, that of those things which els we would doe, I wene it be more then the halfe. Howbeit because (God forgyue vs) we let so little therfore, but do what we liste, as though we heard him not, we reken our libertye neuer the lesse for that.

But then is our libertye muche restrayned by the lawes made by men, for the quiet and politike gouernance of the people. And these wold (I wene) let oure lybertye, but a little neither, wer it not for feare of the paynes that fall thereupon.

Looke then whither other men that haue authoritie ouer vs, commaunde vs neuer no bussines whiche we dare not but do, and therfore do it ful ofte, ful sore against our wils. Of whiche thinges some seruice is sometyme so painefull and so perilous to, that no Lord can lightly commaund his bondman wursse, nor seldome dothe commaunde him halfe so sore.

Let euerye free man that rekeneth hys libertye to stande in doinge what he list, consider wel these pointes, and I wene he shal then finde his libertye much lesse then he tooke it for before.

And yet haue I left vntouched, the bondage that almost euery man is in that bosteth himselfe for free, the bondage I meane of synne, which to be a very bondage, I shal haue oure sauour

himselfe to beare me good record. For he saith: *Omnis qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati*: Euery man that committeth sinne, is the thrall or the bondman of synne. And then if thys be thus (as it must nedes be so, sith god saith it is so) who is there than that maye make so much bost of his liberty, that he shuld take it for so sore a thing and so straunge to become thorowe chaunce of warre bonde vnto a man, while he is alredy throughe synne, become willinglye thral and bond vnto the diuel.

Let vs looke well howe many thinges, and of what vyle wretched sorte, the dyuell dryueth vs to do dayly, thorowe the rashe braydes of our blynde affeccions, which we be for our fautful lacke of grace fayne to folow, and are to feable to refrayne. And then shal we finde in our natural fredom, our bond seruice such, that neuer was there any man Lord of anye so vyle a vyllayne, that euer woulde for verye shame commaunde hym to shamefull seruyce.

And lette vs in the doing of oure seruice to the manne that we be slae vnto, remember what we were wont to do aboute the same tyme of the daye, whyle we were at oure free liberty before, and were well likelye if we were at libertye to do the lyke againe, and wee shall peraduenture perceiue, that it were better for vs to do this busines then that.

Nowe shall we haue greate occasion of comfort, if we consider that oure seruitude (though in the compt of the world it seme to come by chaunce of warre) cometh yet in verye deede vnto vs, by the prouydent hande of God, and that for oure great good if we wyll take it well, both in remyssiōn of sinnes, and also matter of our meryte.

The greatest grieve that is in bondage or captiuitye, is thys (as I trowe) that wee be forced to doe suche laboure, as with oure good wyll we woulde not. But then agaynst that grieve, Senek teacheth vs a good remedye: *Semper da operam, ne quid inuitus facias*: Endeuour thy selfe euermore, that thou do nothing against thy wyl, but ye thyng that we se we shal needes do, let vs vse always to putte our good wyll thereto.

¶ *Vincent*. That is vncle soone sayd, but it is harde to doe.

¶ *Anthony*. Oure frowarde mynde maketh euery good thyng harde, and that to our owne more hurte and harme. But in this case if wee wyll be good Christen menne, wee shall haue great cause gladlye to be content, for the great comfort that we may take therby, while we remember that in the patient and glad doing of our seruice vnto that man for Gods sake, accord-

ynge to hys highe commaundement by the mouth of Saynt Paule, *Serui obedite dominis carnalibus.* We shal haue our thank and our whole rewarde of God.

Finallye if wee remember the greate humble meekenesse of oure Sauyoure Christ himselfe, that he being verye almightye God, *humiliauit semet ipsum formam serui accipiens*: humbled himself and tooke the forme of a bondeman or slaye, rather then his father shoulde forsake vs, wee maye thinke our selfe verie vnkinde caytyfes, and verye frantycke fooles to, if rather then to endure thys worldye bondage for a while, we would forsake him, that hathe by his owne deathe, delyuered vs oute of euerlastinge bondage of the dyuell, and wyll for oure shorte bondage, geue vs euerlasting libertye.

¶ *Vincent.* Well fare you good vncle, this is very well sayde. Albeit that bondage is a condicion that euerye manne of any courage woulde be gladde to eschewe, and verye lothe to fall in, yet haue you well made it open, that it is a thing neither so straunge nor so sore, as it before semed vnto me: and specially farre from suche as any man that any wytte hathe, shoulde for feare thereof, shrincke from the confession af his faith. And now therfore I pray you somewhat speake of imprisonment.

¶ *Of imprisonment, and conforte there agaynst*

¶ **THE XIX. CHAPITER**

¶ *Anthony.* That shall I Cosyn, wyth good wyll. And fyrste, if wee coulde consider what thing imprisonment is of hys owne natue, wee shoulde not me thinketh haue so great horroure therof. For of it selfe it is perdye, but a restraint of libertye, whiche letteth a man from going whither he woulde. ¶ *Vincent.* Yes by sainte Marye Vnkle, me tinketh it is muche more sorow then so. For byside the lette and restrainte of libertye, it hath manye mo displeasures, and verie sore grieves knytte and adioyned thereto. ¶ *Anthony.* That is Cosin verye true in deede, and those paines amōng manye sorer then those, thoughte I not after to forget. Howbeit I purpose now to consider fyrste imprisonment, but as imprisonment onelye withoute anye other incommoditye byside, for a manne maye be perdye imprisoned, and yet not sette in the stockes, nor colered faste by the necke, And a man maye be let walke at large where he wyll, and yet a payre of fetters fast riuated on his legges. For in this countrie

ye wotte well, and in Cyuil and Portyngall to, so go there al the slaues.

Howe be it, because that for suche things mennes hartes hath the suche horrour therof, albeit that I am not so mad as to go aboue to proue that bodylye paine were no paine, yet sythe that because of these maner of paines, we so speciallye abhorre the state and condicion of prisoners, we should me thinketh wel perceiue, that a great parte of oure horrour, groweth of our own fantasi, if we wold cal to mynde and cōsider the state and condicion of many other folke, in whose state and condicion wee woulde wyshe our selfe to stande, takyng theym for no prysoneſ at all, that stand yet for all that in muche parte of the selfe same poyntes that we abhorre imprysonment for. Let vs therefore consider these thinges in order.

And first (as I thoughte to begyn) because those other kindes of griefes that come wyth imprisonment, are but accidentes therunto, and yet neyther suche kyndes of accidentes, as eyther bee proper thereunto, but that they may almost al fal vnto a man without it, nor are not such accidentes therunto, as are vnseperable therfro, but that imprisonmēt mai fal to a mān and none of al thēm therwyth, we wil I say therfore begin wt the cōsiderīng what maner payne or incommodity we should reken imprisonment to be of him selfe, and of hys own nature alone. And then in the course of our communicacion, you shal as you lyste, encrease and aggrefe the cause of your horror, wyth the terrour of those paynful accidents. ¶ *Vincent.* I am sorye that I dydde interrupt your tale. For you were aboue (I see well) to take an orderly way therein. And as your selfe haue deuysed, so I beseche you proceede. For though I reken imprisonment muche the sorer thynge, by sore and hardē handlyng therein, yet reken I not the prisonment of it selfe, anye lesse then a thinge verye tedyous, all were it vsed in the most fauourable maner that it possible myght. For vncle, yf it were a greate prynce that were taken prysoner vpon the field, and in the hand of a Christen kyng, whyche vse in suche case (for the consideracion of theyr former estate and mutable chaunce of the warre) to shewe much humanitie to thēm, and in verye fauourable wyse entreate them. (For these infydell Emperours handle often times the princes that they take more vylanouslye, then they do the poorest men, as the great Tamberlane kept the great Turke, when he had takēn him, to tread on his backe alway whyle he lept on horse backe), but as I began to saye by the sample of a prince taken prisoner, were the imprisonment

neuer so fauourable, yet were it in my mynde no lytle grieve in it self, for a man to be pinned vp, thoughe not in a narowe chamber, but all though hys walke wer right large and right faire gardines to therein, it could not but grieue his harte to be restrayned by a nother man within certaine limites and boundes, and leese the lybertye to bee where hym lyste. ¶ *Anthony*. This is Cosyn, well considered of you. For in this you perceiue well, that imprisonment is of himselfe and hys owne very nature alone, nothinge els but the retainyng of a mans person, wyth in the circuite of a certaine space, narower or larger as shal be limited to him, restrainyng hys lybertye fro the further going into any other place. ¶ *Vincent*. Verye wel sayd as me thincketh. ¶ *Anthony*. Yet forgat I Cosyn to aske you one questiōn. ¶ *Vincent*. What is that vnkle? ¶ *Anthony*. Thys lo. If there be twoo men kepte in two seuerall chambers of one greate castel, of which twoo chambers the tone is muche more large then the tother, whyther bee they prysoneſ bothe, or but the tone yt hath the lesse roume to walke in? ¶ *Vincent*. What question is it Vnkle, but yt they be prysoneſ both (as I sayd myself before) although the tone lay fast locked in the stockes, and the tother had al the whole castell to walke in. ¶ *Anthony*. Me thyncketh verylye Cosyn, that you saye the trouthe. And than yf prysonment be suche a thinge, as your ſelf here agree it is, that is to wytte but a lack of libertie to go whither we list: now wold I fayne wyt of you, what any one man you know that is at this day out of pryson? ¶ *Vincent*. What one man vnkle? mary I know almost none other. For ſurelie prysoneſ am I none acquainted with that I remember. ¶ *Anthony*. Then I ſee wel you visit poore prysoneſ ſeld. ¶ *Vincent*. No by trouthe vnkle, I cry God mercye. I ſende them ſomtyme mine almes, but by my trouthe I loue not to come my ſelfe where I ſhoulde ſee ſuche myſerye. ¶ *Anthony*. In good faithe Cosyn Vyncent, thoughe I ſaye it before you, you haue many good condicions, but ſurely though I ſaye it before you to, that condicion is none of theym. Which condicion if you woulde amende, then ſhould you haue yet the mo good condicions by one, and peraduenture the mo by three of four. For I assure you, it is harde to tell, howe muche good to a mans ſoule, the personall viſytyng of poore prysoneſ dothe.

But nowe ſythe ye canne name me none of theym that are in pryson, I pray you name me ſome one of all theim that you bee (as you ſaye) better acquainted wyth, men I meane that are out of pryson. For I knowe me thincketh, as fewe of them, as

you knowe of the tother. ¶ *Vyncent.* That were (vnkle) a straunge case. For euery man is, vnkle, out of prison, that may goe where he will, though he be the poorest begger in the town. And in good fayth vnkle (because you reckon impriesonmente so small a matter of it self) the poore begger that is at hys libertie, and may walke where he will, is (as me semeth) in better case then is a kyng kept in prieson, yt cannot goe but where men geue hym leaue.

¶ *Anthony.* Well cosyn, whether euerye way walking begger, be by thys reason oute of prieson or no, we shall consider ferther when you will, but in the meane while, I can by this reason see no prince that semeth to be oute of prieson. For if the lacke of libertie to goe where a man will, be impriesonment as your self say it is, then is the great Turke, by whom we so feare to be put in prieson, in prieson already him self. For he may not go where he will. For and he might, he wold into Portingale, Italy, Spain, France, Almayn and England, and as farre on an other quarter too, both Preter Johns land, and the graunde Chams too.

Nowe the begger that you speke of, if he be, as you saye he is, by reason of hys libertie to goe where he will, in muche better case then a king kepte in prieson, because he cannot goe but where menne geue him leaue, then is ye begger in better case, not onely then a prynce in prieson, but also then manye a prince oute of prieson too. For I am sure there is many a begger that may without lette walke ferther vpon other mennes ground, than many a prince at his best libertie, maye walke vpon his owne. And as for walking oute abrode vpon other mennes, that prince might happe to be sayd naye and holden fast, where that begger with his bagge and his staffe, should be suffred to goe furth and hold on his way.

But forasmuch, cosyn, as neither the begger nor the Prince is at free libertie to walke where they wil, but that if they woulde walke in some place, neither of them bothe should be suffered, but men woulde withstande them and saye them naye, therefore if impriesonmente be (as you graunt it is) a lacke of libertie to go where we list, I cannot see but as I say, the begger and the prince whom you reken both at libertie, be by your owne reason restrayned in prieson both.

¶ *Vyncent.* Yea but vnkle both the tone and the tother haue way ynough to walke, the tone in hys own ground, the tother in other mennes: or in the common high way, where they may walke till they be both wary of walking ere any man saye them

nay. ¶ *Anthony*. So may cosin, that king that had, as your selfe put the case, all the whole castell to walke in, and yet you say not nay but that he is priesoner for all that, though not so straitly kept, yet as verelye priesoner as he that lyeth in the stockes. ¶ *Vyncent*. But they may goe at the leaste wise to euery place that they nede, or that is cōmodious for thēm, and therfore they dooe not wil to goe but where thei may go. And therfore be they at libertie to goe where they will. ¶ *Anthony*. Me nedeth not cosyn to spend the tyme aboue the impugnyng euerye part of this aunswere. For letting passe by, that though a priesoner wer with his keper broughte into euerye place where nede required, yet sith he might not whēn he would goe where he woulde for hys only pleasure, he wer ye wot wel a priesoner styl. And lettyng passe ouer also this, that it wer to this begger nede, and to this kyng commodious, to goe into dyuers places where neither of them both may come, and letting passe also, that neyther of them both is lightly so temperatly determined, but that they both fayne so woulde dooe in dede, if this reason of yours put them out of prieson, and sette them at libertie and make them free (as I wil wel graunt it dooeth if they so dooe in dede) that is to witte, if they haue no will to goe but where they maye goe in dede, then let vs looke on our other priesoners enclosed within a castell, and we shall fynd that the straightest kept of thēm both, if he geat the wisedome and the grace to quyete his own mynd, and hold hymself content with that place, and longe not like a woman with child for her lustes, to be gadding out any where elles, is by the same reason of yours, whyle his wil is not longyng to be anye where elles, he is, I saye, at hys free libertie to bee where he will, and so is oute of prieson too. And on the tother syde, if thoughe his will be not longing to be any where elles: yet because that if hys will so wer he should not so be suffred, he is therfore not at hys free libertye, but a priesoner styl: so sith youre free begger that you speake of, and the prynce that you calle out of prieson too, though they be (which I wene very few be) by some special wisdom so temperatelye disposed, that they haue not the will to bee, but where they see they maye bee suffered to be, yet syth that if they woulde haue that will, they could not than be where they wold: they lacke the effect of free libertie, and be bothe twayn in prieson too. ¶ *Vincent*. Wel vncle, if euery man vniuersally, be by thys reason in prieson already, after the very propriety of imprisonment, yet to be imprisoned in this speciall maner, whiche maner is only cōmmonly called imprisōnment, is a thing of

great horrour and feare both for ye straightnes of ye keping, and the hard hāndling that many men haue therin. Of all which grieves, and paines, and dyspleasures, in this other generall imprisonment yt you speke of, we fele nothing at al. And therfore eueri man abhorreth the tone, and would be loth to come into it, and no man abhorreth the tother, for they fele none harme nor fynd no faulte therin. Wherefore (vnkle) in good faythe though I cannot fynd aunswers conuenient wherwith to auoid your argumēntes: yet to be playne with you and tell you the very trouth, my minde findeth not it self satisfyed in this poynt, but that euer me thinketh yt these thinges wherewith you rather conuynce and conclude me, then induce a credence and perswade me that euery man is in prison already, be but sophisticall fantasies, and that, except those that are commonly called prisoners, other men are not in any prison at all.

¶ *Anthony.* Well fare thine hearte good cosin Vincent. There was in good fayth no woord that you spake syncce we fyrist talked of these matters, that half so well lyked me as these that you speake now. For if you had assented in woordes and in your mynde departed vnperswaded, than if the thing be true that I say, yet had you lost ye fruite. And if it be peradventure false, and my self deceiued therin, than while I shoulde wene that it lyked you too, you should haue confyrmēd me in my foly. For in good fayth cosyn, such an olde foole am I, yt this thyng, in the perswading wherof vnto you, I had wēnt I had quit me well, and when I haue al done appereth to your mind but a trifle and a sophisticall fantasy, my self haue so many yeres taken for so very substanciall trueth, that as yet my mind cannot geue me to thinke it any other. Wherefore, lest I play as the frēnch priest plaid, that had so long vsed to say *dominus*, with the seconde sillable long, that at last he thought it must nedes be so, and was ashamed to saye it short, to thentent that you may the better perceiue me, or I the better my selfe, we shall here betwene vs a litle more consider the thing. And hardly spet well on youre handes and take good holde, and geue it not ouer against your own minde. For than wer we neuer the nere.

¶ *Vincent.* Nay by my trouth vnkle, that entende I not, nor nothing dyd yet since we began. And yt may you wel perceiue by some thinges, which withoute any gret cause, saue for the ferther satisfaccion of mine owne mynd, I repeted and debated agayne.

¶ *Anthony.* That guyse (cosyn) hold on hardly still. For in thys matter I purpose to geue ouer my part, except I make your self perceiue, both yt euery man vniuersally

is a verye prisoner in very prison playnly without any sophistacion at all, and that there is also no prince liuing vpon earth, but he is in worse case prisoner by this general imprisonment yt I speke of, then is many a lewd simple wretch by yt speciall imprisonment that you speke of. And ouer this that in this generall imprisonment that I speake of, men are for ye time that they be therin, so sore hanedled and so hardly, and in such paynful wise, that mens heartes haue with reason great cause, as sore to abhorre this harde handelyng that is in this imprisonment, as the tother that is in that. ¶ *Vyncent*. By my trouth vncle, these thinges would I fayn see well proued. ¶ *Anthony*. Tell me then (cosin) first by your trouth, if ther wer a man attainted of treason or of felony, and after iudgement geuen of hys deth, and that it wer determined that he shold dye, only ye tyme of his execucion delayed tyll the kinges ferther pleasure knowen, and he therupon deliuered to certayne kepers, and put vp in a sure place out of which he coulde not scape, wer this man a prisoner or no? ¶ *Vyncent*. This man quoth he? yea mary that he wer in very dede, if euer any man wer. ¶ *Anthony*. But now, what if for the time yt wer mene betwene his atteynder and his execusion, he wer so fauorably handled, that he wer suffred to dooe what he wold as he was while he was abrode, to haue the vse of hys landes and hys goodes, and hys wife and his childrēn licence to be with him and his frendes leaue at libertie to resorte vnto him, and his seruauntes not forboden to abide about him, and adde yet thereunto, that the place wer a gret castel royal with parkes and other plesures therein, a very greate circuite aboute. Yea adde yet (and ye will) that he wer suffered to goe and ryde also, both when he would and whither he woulde, onelye this one poynte alwaye prouyded and foreseen, that he should euer be surely seene to, and safly kept fro scaping, so yt tooke he neuer so much of his owne mynd in the meane whyle all other wayes sauе scaping, yet he well knew that skape he coulde not, and that when he wer called for, to execucion and to death he shoulde: nowe cosyn Vincent, what wold you call this man? A prisoner, because he is kept for execucion: or no prisoner because he is in the mene while so fauourably handled, and suffered to dooe all that he woulde sauе skape. And I bidde you not here be hasty in youre aunswere, but aduyse it well, that you graunte no such thing in hast, as you would after mislyke by leysure, and thinke your self deceiued. ¶ *Vyncent*. Nay by my trouth vncle this thing nedeth no study at al in my mind, but that for all this fauour shewed him and al this libertie

lent him, yet being condemned to death, and being kepte therefore, and kept with such sure watch layd vpon him that he cannot eskape, he is al that while a very playn priesoner styl. ¶ *Anthony*. In good fayth cosyn, me thinketh you saye very trewe. But then one thing must I yet desyre you (cosin) to tel me a little ferther. If ther were another layde in prison for a fraye, and thorowe the gaolers displeasure were bolted and fettered, and layde in a lowe dungeon in the stockes, where he myght happe to lye peraduenture for a while, and abyde in the meane season some payne, but no daunger of death at all, but that oute agayne he shoulde come well ynoughe: whiche of these two prisoners stooide in woorse case? he that hath all this fauour or he that is thus hardly handled? ¶ *Vyncent*. By our lady vncle I wene yt most part of menne if they should nedes choose, had leuer be suche prisoners in euery poynt, as he that so sorelye lyeth in the stockes, then in euery poynt such, as he that at suche libertie walketh aboute the parke.

Anthony. Consider then (cosin) whether this thing seme any sophistrye to you yt I shal shew you now. For it shalbe such as semeth in good fayth substancial true to me. And if it so happen that you think otherwise, I wil be very glad to perceue which of vs both is begylde.

For it semeth to me (cosin) first, that euery man comyng into this world here vpon earth, as he is created by God, so cummeth he hether by the prouidence of God. Is this any sophistry first or not? ¶ *Vyncent*. Nay verelye, this is very substanciall trueth. ¶ *Anthony*. Now take I this also for very truth in my mind, that there cummeth no man nor woman hither into the earth, but that ere euer they come quicke into the worlde oute of the mothers wombe, god condemneth them vnto death by his own sentence and iudgemente, for thorigynall synne that they bring with them, contracted in the corrupted stocke of oure forefather Adam. Is this thinke you cosin verely thus or not? ¶ *Vyncent*. This is vncle very true in dede. ¶ *Anthony*. Then semeth this trewe ferther vnto me, that god hath put euery man here vpon therth, vnder so sure and vnder so safe keping, that of al the whole people liuing in this wide worlde, there is neither man, woman, nor child, wold they neuer so farre wander about and seke it, that possibly can find any way wherby they may scape fro death. Is this (cosin) a fond ymagined fantasy, or is it very trueth in dede? ¶ *Vyncent*. Nay, this is none ymaginacion vncle, but a thing so clearely proued true, that no man is so madde to say nay.

¶ *Anthony*. Then nede I no more cosyn. For then is all the matter plaine and open euident trueth, which I said I tooke for trueth, which is yet more a litle now then I tolde you before, when you tooke my proofe yet but for a sophysticall fantasy, and said that for all my reasonyng that euerye man is a prisoner, yet you thought that except these whom the common people call prisoners, there is ells no mān a very prisoner in dede. And now you graūnt your self againe for very substanciall open trueth, that euery man is here (though he be the gretest king vpon earth) set here by the ordinaunce of god in a place (be it neuer so large) a place I say yet (and you say the same) out of whiche no man can escape, but that therin is euery man put vnder sure and safe keping, to be readilie set furth when god calleth for him, and that then he shal surely dye. And is not then (cosyn) by youre owne grauntinge before, euerye man a verye prisoner, when he is put in a place to be kept to be brought furth when he would not, and himself wot not whither.

¶ *Vyncent*. Yes in good faith vncle. I cannot but well perceiue this to be so. ¶ *Anthony*. This wer (you wot wel) true, although a man should be but taken by the arme, and in fayre maner leade out of this world vnto his iudgement. But now while we well knowe, that there is no king so great, but that all the whyle he walketh here, walke he neuer so loose, ride he with neuer so strong an army for his defence, yet himself is very sure though he seke in ye mene season some other pastime to put it out of his minde: yet is he very sure I say, that escape cān he not, and very well he knoweth, that he hath already sentence geuen vpon him to dye, and that verely dye he shal, and that himself though he hope vpon long respite of hys execucion, yet can he not tell how soone and therfore (but if he be a foole) he cān neuer be without feare, that either on the morow or on the self same day, the gryselye cruell hangman death whiche from hys first coming in, hath euer houed a loofe and looked toward him, and euer lyen in a wait on hym, shall amid mong all his royltie, and al his main strength, neither knele before hym nor make him any reuerēnce, nor with any good maner desyre him to come furth, but rigorously and fiercelye grype him by the verye brest, and make all his bones rattle, and so by long and dyuers sore tormentes stryke hym starke dead in this prison, and then cause his body to be cast into the ground in a fowle pit, within some corner of the same, there to rot and be eaten with the wretched woormes of the earthe, sendyng yet his soule out ferther vnto a more fearefull iudgement, wherof at his temporall death his

successe is vncertayn, and therfore though by gods grace not out of good hope, yet for all that in the meane whyle in very sore dreade and feare, and peraduenture in perill ineuitable of eternall fyre too: me thynketh therefore (cosin) that (as I tolde you) this kepyng of euerye man in this wretched world for execucion of deth is a very playne imprisonment in dede. And yt (as I say) such, yt the greatest king is in this prison in muche worse case in all his welth, then many a man is by the tother imprisonment that is therin sore and hardly handled. For where some of those lye not there attainted nor condēmned to death, the greatest manne of thys world, and the most welthy in this vniuersall prison, is layde in to be kepte vndoubtedlie for death.

¶ *Vyncent.* But yet vncle, in that case is ye tother prisoner too for he is as sure yt he shall dye perdy. ¶ *Anthony.* This is very trewe (cosin) in dede, and wel obiecte too. But then you must consider, that he is not in daunger of deth, by reason of ye prison into which he is putte peraduenture but for a light fray, but his daunger of death is, by the tother imprisonmēnt, by which he is prisoner in the greate prison of thys whole earth, in which prison al ye princes therof be prisoners as wel as he. If a man cōdemned to death were put vp in a large prison, and while his execucion wer respyted, he were for fightyng wt his felowes put vp in a straight place part of ye same, he is in daunger of death in that strayte prison, but not by the being in that, for therin is he but for ye fray. But his dedly imprisonment was the tother, the larger I say, into which he was put for deth so the prisoner yt you speke of, is beside ye narowe prison, a prisoner of the broade world, and al the princes therof, therin prisoners with him: And by yt imprisonmēnt both they and he in like danger of deth, not by that strayt imprisonmēnt that is commonly called imprisonment: but by that imprisonment, which because of ye large walke men call it libertie, and which prison you therfore thought but a fantasye sophistical to prooue it any prison at all. But nowe may you me thinketh, verye plainly perceiue, that this whole earth, is not only for all the whole kind of mān a very plain prison in dede, but also that euery man without excepcion, euen those that are most at their libertie therein, and rekon thēmself gret lordes and possessioners of very great pieces therof, and thereby waxe with wantonnes so forgeatfull of their own state, yt they wene they stande in great welth, dooe stande for all that in dede, by the reason of their imprisonmēnt in this large prison of the whole earth, in the self same condicion that other doo stand, which in ye narow prisons

(which only be called prisons, and whiche only be reputed prisons in the opinion of the comon people) stande in the most fearefull and in the most odious case, that is to wit, condemned already to death. And nowe (cosin) if this thing that I tell you, seme but a sophisticall fantasy to your mind, I would be glad to know what moueth you so to thinke. For in good fayth as I haue told you twise, I am no wiser, but yt I verely wene that the thing is thus of very playn trouth in very dede.

¶ THE XX. CHAPTER

Vyncent. In good faith vncle, as for thus farre furth, I not only can make with anye reason no resystēnce ther against, but also see very clerely proued that it can be none otherwise, but that euerye man is in this worlde a very prisoner, sith we be all put here into a sure hold to be kept til we be put vnto execucion, as folke alreadye condemned all to death. But yet vncle, ye strayte keping, collering, boltyng, and stocking, with lying in straw or on ye cold grounde (which maner of hard handeling is vsed in these speciall prisonmentes, yt only be called cōmmonlye by yt name) must nedes make ye imprisonmēnt which only bereth among ye peple yt name, much more odious and dredefull, then ye generall imprisoning, wherwt we be euery mān vniuersally prisoned at large, walkyng where we will rōund about ye wide world, in which brode prison out of those narow prisons ther is with the prisoners no such harde handling vsed. ¶ *Anthony.* I sayd (I trow cosin) that I purposed to prooue you ferther yet, yt in this general prison, ye large prison I mene of this whole world, folk be for the time yt they be therein, as sore handled and as hardly, and wrenched and wrōnged and braked in such paynfull wise, that our hertes (saue that we consider it not) haue with reason good and gret cause to grudge against, and (as farfurth as perteineth only to the respect of pain) as much horrour to conceue against the hard hāndling yt is in this prison, as ye tother that is in that. ¶ *Vyncent.* In dede vncle trouth it is, that this you sayd you wold proue. ¶ *Anthony.* Nay so much said I not cosin, but I sayd I would if I coulde, and if I could not, then wold I therin geue ouer my part. But that (trust I cosin) I shall not nede to dooe, the thing semeth me so playn. For (cosin) not onely the prince and king, but also, though he haue bothe angelles and deuils yt are gaylors vnder him: yet the chiefe gaylour ouer thys whole brode prison the

worlde, is (as I take it) god, and that I suppose ye will graunt me too. ¶ *Vyncent*. That will I not vncle denye. ¶ *Anthony*. If a man be (cosin) cōmmitted vnto prieson, for no cause but to bee kept, though ther be neuer so gret charge vpon him, yet his keper if he be good and honest, is neither so cruell yt wold Payne the man of malice, nor so couetous that would put him to pain to make him seke hys frendes and to pay for a peny woorth of ease, elles if the place be such yt he be sure to kepe him safe otherwise, or that he can geat suretie for the recompence of more harme, then he seeth he should haue if he scaped, he will neuer handle him in any such harde fashion as we most abhorre imprisonment for. But marye if ye place be such as the keper cannot otherwyse be sure, then is he compelled to kepe him after the rate the straiter. And also if the prisoner be vnruey, and fall to fighting with his felowes, or dooe some other maner of shrewde turnes, then vseth the keper to punishe hym sundry wise, in some of such fashions as your selfe haue spokēn of. So is it now cosin, yt god the chiefe gaylor (as I say) of this brode prison the worlde, is neither cruell nor couetous. And this prison is also so sure and so subtyllye buylded, that albeit that it lyeth open on euerye syde withoute any wall in the world: yet wander we neuer so far about therin, the way to geat out at shal we neuer find, so that he neither nedeth to coller vs nor to stocke vs for any feare of scaping away. And therfore except he see some other cause thēn our only keping for death: he letteth vs in ye mene whyle, for as long as he list to respite vs, walk aboute in the prison, and dooe therein what we will, vsing our selfe in such wyse, as he hath by reason and reuelacion fro tyme to time tolde vs hys pleasure.

And herof it cometh lo, that by reason of this fauour for a time, we waxe, as I sayd, so wanton, that we forgeat where we be, weening that we were lordes at large, wheras we be in dede (if we wold consider it) euen selye poore wretches in prison. For of very trouth, our very prison this earth is. And yet therof we cant vs out, part by couenāntes that we make among vs, and part by fraude, and part by vyolence too, dyuers partes dyuerslye to our self, and change the name therof, fro the odious name of prison, and call it oure own land and our liuelode. Vpon our prison we bild: our prison we garnish with golde and make it glorious: in this prison they by and sell: in this prison they brawle and chide: in this they runne together and fight: in this they dyce: in this they card in this they pipe and reuell: in this they sing and daunce: and in this prison manye a man

reputed ryght honest, letteth not for his pleasure in the darke, priuelye to play the knaue.

And thus while god our king and our chiefe gayloure too, suffereth vs and letteth vs alone, we weene our selfe at libertie, and we abhorre the state of those whom we call prisoners, taking our self for no prisoners at all.

In which false perswasion of welth, and forgetfulnes of our own wretched state whiche is but a wandering aboute for a whyle in this prison of this worlde, tyll we be brought vnto the execucion of deth, whyle we forget with our foly, both our selfe and our gayle, and our vnder gaylers aungelles and deuilles both, and our chief gayler god too, god that forgetteth not vs, but seeth vs all the whyle well ynough, and being sore dyscontent to see so shrewde rule kept in the gayle (beside that he sendeth the hanger man deathe to putte to execucion here and there sometime by the thousands at once) he handleth many of the remenaunt whose execucion he forbeareth yet vnto a farther time, euen as hardlye, and punisheth them as sore in this cōmon prison of ye world, as ther are any handled in those speciall prisons, which for the hard handling vsed (you say) therein, your hearte hath in such horror and so sore abhorreth. ¶ *Vyncent*. The remenaunte will I not gaynesaye: for (me thinketh) I see it so in dede. But that god our chief gaylour in this world, vseth any suche prisonly fashion of punishment, that poynt must I nedes denye. For I neither see him ley any man in the stockes, or strike fetters on his legges, or so much as shet him vp in a chaumber either.

¶ *Anthony*. Is he no minstrell (cosin) that playeth not on an harpe? maketh no man melody but he that playeth on a lute? he may be a minstrell and make melodye you wotte wel with some other instrument, some straunge fashioned peraduenture, that neuer was seene before.

God our chiefe gayler, as himselfe is inuisible, so vseth he in his punishments inuisible instrumētes, and therfore not of like fashion as the tother gaylers doo, but yet of like effect, and as paynfull in feeling as those. For he leyeth one of hys prisoners with an hote feuer, as euill at his ease in a warme bedde, as the tother gayler layeth his on the cold ground: he wringeth thēm by the browes with a meygreme: he collereth thēm by the neck with a quinsye: he bolteth them by the armes with a paulsy, that they cannot lift their handes to their head: he manacleth their handes with the gowte in their fingers: he wringeth them by the legges with the crampe in their shinnes: he byndeth thēm to

the bedde borde with the crycke in the backe, and layeth one there alone, and as vnhable to ryse, as though he laye by fast the feete in the stockes.

Some prisoner of another gayle, singeth, daunceth in hys two feters, and feareth not his feete for stumblinge at a stone, while Goddes prisoner that hath his one foote fettered with the gowte, lyeth groning on a cowche, and quaketh, and cryeth out, if he feare there woulde fall on his foote no more but a cushion.

And therefore cosin (as I sayde) if we consider it well, we shall find this generall prison of this whole earthe, a place in which the prisoners be as sore handeled, as they be in the tother. And euen in ye tother some make as mery too, as there dooe some in this that are verye mery at large out of that.

And surely, like as we weene our self out of prison now, so if there were some folke borne and brought vp in a prison, that neuer came on the wall, nor looked out at the doore, nor neuer heard of other world abrode, but sawe some for shrewd turnes doone among themself, locked vp in strayter rowme, and heard them only called prisoners that wer so serued, and themself euer called free folke at large, the like opinion woulde they haue there of thēmself then, that we haue here of oure self now. And when we take our self for other than prisoners now, as verely be wee nowe deceyued, as those prisoners should there be then.

¶ *Vyncent.* I cannot (vnkle) in good fayth say nay, but that you haue perfourmed all that you haue promised. But yet sith that for all this, there appereth no more but that as they be prisoners so be we too and that as some of them be sore händled, so be some of vs too, sith we wot well for all this, that when we come to those prisons, we shal not fayle to be in a straier prison then we be now, and to haue a doore shet vpon vs where we haue none shette on vs now: this shall we be sure of at the least wise if there come no woorse, and then may ther come woorse ye wot well, it cometh there so commonly: wherefore for all this, it is yet little merueile, though mennes heartes grudge muche thereagaynst. ¶ *Anthony.* Surely cosin in thys you say very well. Howbeit, somewhat had your woordes touched me the nerer, if I had sayd that imprisonment wer no displeasure at all. But the thinge that I say (cosin) for our coumfort therein, is yt our fantasy frameth vs a false opinion, by which we deceiue oure selfe and take it for sorer then it is. And that doo we, by the reason that we take our selfe before, for more free then we be, and prisonment for a straunger thing to vs, then it is in dede. And thus farre furth (as I sayde) haue I prooued

trouth in very dede. But now the incommodities that you repeete agayne, those I saye, that are proper to thinprisonment of their owne nature, that is to witte, to haue lesse rowme to walke in, and to haue the doore shet vpon vs, these are me thinketh so very slender and sleight, that in so great a cause as to suffer for goddes sake, we might be sore ashamed so much as once to thinke vpon them.

Many a good man ther is ye wot wel, which without any force at all, or anye necessitie wherfore he should so dooe, suffreth these two thinges willingly of hys owne choyce, with much other hardnes more. Holy munkes I mene of the charterhouse order, such as neuer passe their celles but only to the churche set fast by their celles, and thence to their celles agayne. And saynt Brigittes order, and saynt Claris much like, and in a maner al close religious houses. And yet Ancres and Ancresses most especiallye, all whose whole roume is lesse then a metely large chaumber. And yet are they there aswel content manye long yeres together, as are other men, and better too, that walke about the world. And therefore you may see that the lothnes of lesse rowme, and the doore shet vpon vs, while so manye folke are so well content therewith, and will for Goddes loue liue so to choose, is but an horrour enhaunced of our owne fantasy. And in dede I wist a woman once that came into a prieson to visite of her charitie a poore priesoner there, whome she found in a chamber (to say ye trouth) metely fayre, and at the leastwise it was strōng inough, but with mattes of straw the prisoner had made it so warme, both vnder the foote and roūnd about ye walles that in these thinges for the kepynge of his health, she was on his behalfe gladde and very well coumforted, but amoneg many other displesures that for his sake she was sory for: one she lamented much in her mind, that he shold haue the chamber doore vpon him by nighte, made fast by the gayler that should shette him in. For by my trouth quoth she, if the dore shold be shet vpon me, I would wene it wolde stoppe vppe my breth. At that woerde of hers the prisoner laughed in his mynde, but he durste not laugh alowde nor saye nothing to her, for somewhat in dede he stoode in awe of her, and had his finding there muche parte of her charitie for almes, but he could not but laugh inwardlye, why he wist well ynough, that shee vsed on the inside to shet euery night ful surely her owne chaumber to her, bothe doore and windowes too, and vsed not to open them of al the long night. And what difference then as to the stoppyng of the breth whether they wer shet vp within or without?

And so surely cosin, these two thinges that you speake of, are neither nother of so great weight, that in Chrystes cause ought to mooue a christen man, and the tone of the twayne is so very a childishe fantasy, that in a matter almost of three chippes (but if it wer in chaunce of fyre) neuer should mooue any man.

As for those other accidentes of harde handling therin, so mad am I not to say they be no grief: but I say that our feare may ymagine them much greater grief then they be. And I say that such as thei be, many a man endureth them, yea and many a woman too, yt after fare ful wel.

And then would I witte what determinacion we take, whether for oure sauours sake, to suffer some Payne in our bodies, sith he suffred in his blessed body so great Payne for vs, or elles to geue him warning and be at a poynte rather vterly to forsake him, then suffer any payn at all. He that cometh in his minde vnto this latter poynt from whiche kinde of vnkindnes god kepe euery man, coumforte he none nedeth, for he will flee the nede. And counsayle (I feare) auayleth him litle, if grace be so far gone frōm him. But on ye tother side, if rather thān to forsake our sauior, we determyne our selfe to suffer any Payne at all, I cannot then see, that the feare of hard handling shold any thing sticke with vs, and make us to to shrinke, as we rather would forsake his fayth, then to suffer for his sake so much as imprisonment, sith the handeling is neither such in prieson, but that manye men many yeres and many womēn too, liue therwith and sustein it, and afterward yet fare full well. And yet that it may well fortune, that beside the very bare imprisonment, there shall hap vs none harde handling at all, nor that same haply, but for a short while neither. And yet besyde all this peraduēture not at all. And specially sith which of all these wayes shall be taken with vs, lyeth all in his wille, for whom we be content to take it, and which for that mynd of ours faouureth vs, and wil suffer no man to put more pain vnto vs, then he well wotteth we shalbe well hable to beare. For he will geue vs the strength therto himself, as you haue heard his promise already by the mouth of S. Paule. *Fidelis autem deus est, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis ferre, sed da tetiam cum tentatione prouentum:* God is faythfull, which suffereth you not to be tempted aboue that you may beare, but geueth also with the temptation a way out. But now if we haue not lost our fayth already before we come to forsake it for feare we know very wel by our fayth, that by the forsaking of our fayth, we fall into yt state to be caste into the prison of hell, and that can

we not tell how soone, but as it may be that God will suffer vs to lyue a whyle here vpon earth: so may it be that he will throwe vs into that dungeon beneth, before the time that ye Turke shall once aske vs the question. And therfore if we feare imprisonmente so sore, we be muche more then madde, yt we feare not moste, the farre more sore. For oute of that prison shall no man neuer geatte, and in this other shal no man abyde but a whyle.

In prison was Joseph while his brethren were at large, and yet after were his brethren fayne to seke vpon him for breadde.

In prison was Daniel, and the wylde lyons about him: and yet euen there god kepte him harmelesse, and brought hym safe out agayne.

If we thynke that he will not dooe the likewise for vs, let vs not doubt but he will dooe for vs, either the like or better. For better may he dooe for vs if he suffer vs there to dye.

Saint John the baptist was (you wot well) in prison, while Herode and Herodias sate full merye at the feast, and the daughter of Herodias delyted thēm with her daunsyng, till with her daunsyng she daunsed of Saynt Johns head. And nowe sitteth he with great feast in heauen at Goddes boarde, whyle Herode and Herodias full heauilye sitte in hell burning both twayn, and to make thēm sport withall, the deuil with the damsel daunce in the fyre afore them.

Finallye cosyn, to finyshe this piece with, our sauour was himself take prisoner for our sake, and prisoner was he caried, and prisoner was he kepte, and prisoner was he broughte furth before Annas, and prisoner from Annas caryed vnto Cayphas, than prisoner was he caried from Cayphas vnto Pylate, and prisoner was he sent fro Pylate to kyng Herode, prisoner from Herode vnto Pilate agayne, and so kepte as prisoner to the ende of his passion.

The tyme of hys impriesonmente, I graunte well, was not longe, but as for harde handelyng, whiche oure heartes moste abhorre, he hadde as much in that short whyle, as many men among them all in much lenger tyme. And surely thān if wee consider of what estate he was, and therewith that he was prisoner in suche wise for our sake: we shall I trowe (but if we bee worse then wretched beastes) neuer so shamefullye playe the vnkynd cowardes, as for feare of imprisonment sinnefullye to forsake hym, nor so foolishhe neither, as by forsakynge of hym to geue him thoccasion agayne to forsake vs, and with the auoyding of an easier prison, fall into a worse, and in stede of

prison that cannot kepe vs long: fall into that prison out of whiche we can neuer come, where the shorte prisonmente would winne vs euerlasting libertie.

¶ *The feare of shamefull and painfull death*

¶ THE XXI. CHAPTER

Vyncent. Forsoothe vnkle, oure lorde rewarde you therefore, if we fered not ferther beside imprisōment, the terrible dart of shamefull and paynefull death: as for imprisonment I would verelye trust, that remembryng these thinges whiche I haue here hearde of you, rather then I should forsake the fayth of our sauour, I wold with helpe of grace neuer shrynde thereat.

But now are we comen vnkle, with muche woorke at the last vnto the last and vttermost poynt of the dreade, yt maketh *incursum et demonium meridianum*, thys incursion of this midde day deuill. This open inuasion of the Turke and his persecucion againste the fayth, seme so terrible vnto mennes mindes, that although the respect of God, vanquishe all the remenant of the trouble, yt we haue hitherto perused, as losse of goodes, landes, and libertie: yet when we remēber the terroure of shameful and paynful death, that poynt so sodaynly putteth vs in obliuion of all that shold be our coumfort, that we feele (al men I feare me for the most part) the feroour of our fayth waxe so cold, and our heartes so faynt, that we finde our selfe at the point to fall euen therfro for fere. ¶ *Anthony.* To this I say not nay cosin, but that in dede in this poynt is the sore pinch. And yet you see for all this, that euen this poynte too, taketh encrease or minishment of drede, after the difference of the affeccions, that are before fyxed and rooted in the mind, so far furth that you see some man set so much by his worldly substaunce: that he lesse feareth the losse of his life, then the losse of landes. Yea, some man shall you see that abideth dedly torment, and such as some other had leuer dye then endure, rather then he would bring out the money that he hath hydde. And I doubt not but you haue hearde of manye by right autentike stories, that some for one cause, some for other, haue not letted willinglye to suffer deth: dyuers in diuers kindes: and some both with despightful rebuke and paynful torment too. And therefore as I saye, we may see yt thaffection of ye mind towarde thencrease or decrease of drede, maketh much of the matter.

Nowe are thaffections of mens mindes imprinted by diuers

meanes. One way by ye meane of the bodily senses, moued by such thinges pleasaunt or displesaunt, as are outwardly thorowe sensible worldy thinges offred and obiected vnto them. And this maner of receuynge thimpression of affeccions, is comō vnto men and beastes. Another maner of receiuinge affeccions, is by ye mene of reson: which both ordinateley tempereth those affeccions yt the bodily five wittes emprint, and also disposeth a man many times, to some spirituall vertues, very contrary to those affections that are fleshly and sensual. And those reasonable dysposicions, been affections spirituall, and proper to ye nature of man, and aboue ye nature of bestes. Now as our gostly enemy the deuil, enforceth himself to make vs leane vnto the sensuall affections and beastly: so dooth almighty god of his goodnes by his holy spirite, enspire vs good mocions with ayde and helpe of his grace, toward ye tother affections spirituall. And by sundry menes instructeth our reson to leane vnto them: and not only to receiue theim as engendred and planted in oure soule: but also in suche wyse water them with the wise aduertisement of godlye counsayle and continuall prayer, that they may be habitually radicate and surelye take diepe roote therin. And after, as the tone kynd of affecciōn or ye tother, bereth ye strength in our heart: so be we stronger or fiebler agaynst the terror of deth in this cause.

And therfore will we cosin, assaye to cōsider, what thinges there are, for whiche we haue cause in reason to maister ye affeccion fereful and sensuall. And though we cannot cleane auoyde it, and putte it away: yet in suche wise to brydle it at the least, that it runne not oute so farre lyke an head strong horse, that spyte of oure teeth, it cary vs out vnto the deuill.

Lette vs therfore nowe consider and well weigh, this thing that we dreade so sore, that is to wit, shamefull and painfull death.

¶ *Of death considered by himselfe alone, as a bare leauing of this lyue onlye*

¶ THE XXII. CHAPTER

AND first I perceyue well by these twoo thynges that you ioyne vnto deathe, that is to witte, shamefull and paynefull: you wolde esteme death so much the lesse, if he should come alone withoute eyther shame or Payne. ¶ *Vyncent.* Without dout vnkle, a great deale the lesse. But yet thoughe he shoulde

come without them bothe by himself: whatsoeuer I wold, I wot wel many a man would be for all that verye lothe to dye. ¶ *Anthony*. That I belieue well cosin: and the more pittie it is. For that affeccion happeth in very fewe, but that either the cause is lacke of faythe, lacke of hope, or finallye lacke of witte. They that belieue not the lyfe to come after thys, and weene themselfe here in wealthe: are loth to leauue thys: for than they thinke they leese all. And therof cometh the manifolde foolishe vnfaythfull woordes which are so ryfe in our manye mouthes, This worlde we knowe, and the tother we knowe not: and that some saye in sport, and thinke in earnest: The deuill is not so blacke as he is paynted: and let hym bee as blacke as he will, he is no blacker then a crowe: with manye suche other foolishe fantasies of the same sorte.

Some that belieue well ynough: yet thorowe the lewdenesse of liuyng, falle out of good hope of saluacion. And than though they be loth to dye, I verye little meruayle. Howbeit, some that purpose to mende, and woulde fayne haue some tyme lefte them lenger to bestowe somewhat better, may peraduenture be lothe to die also by and by. And that maner lothnesse, albeit a very good will gladdely to dye and to be with Godde, were in my mynd so thankefull, that it wer well hable to purchace as full remission both of synne and Payne, as peraduenture he were lyke if he liued to purchace in many yeres penaunce: yet will I not saye, but that suche kynd of lothnesse to dye, maye be before god allowable.

Some are there also that are loth to dye, that are yet verye gladde to die, and long for to be deadde.

¶ *Vyncent*. That wer vncle a very strange case.

¶ *Anthony*. The case I feare me (cosyn,) falleth not very often, but yet sometime it dooeth. As where there is any man of that good mynd that Saynt Paule was whiche for the longyng that he hadde to bee with God, woulde fayne haue been deadde. But for the profit of other folke, was content to liue here in Payne, and differ and forbeare for the whyle, his inestimable blisse in heauen: *desiderium habens dissolui et esse cum Christo, multo magis melius, parmanere autem in carne, necessarium propter vos.*

But of all these kyndes cosin, of folkes that are loth to dye (excepte the fyrist kinde onelye that lacketh fayth) there is I suppose none, but that except the feare of shame or sharpe Payne ioyned vnto death, shoulde be the lette, woulde elles for the bare respect of death alone, lette to departe hence with good

will in thy case of ye faith, well witting by his faith that his death taken for the faith, should cleanse him cleane of all his sinnes, and sende him straught to heauen. And some of these (namely the last kinde) are such, that shame and payne both ioyned vnto death, wer vnlikely to make them lothe death or feare death so sore, but that they would suffer deth in this case with good will, sith they knowe well that the refusinge of the fayth for anye cause in this worlde (were the cause neuer so good in syght) shoulde yet seuer them from god: with whom (saue for other folkes profit) they so fayne woulde be. And charitie can it not be, for the profit of ye whole world, deaddely to displease him that made it.

Some are there I saye also, that are loth to die for lacke of witte, which albeit that they believe the worlde that is to come, and hope also to come thither, yet they loue so muche the wealthe of thys world, and such thynges as delyte them therein, that they would fayne kepe them as long as euer they myghte, euen wyth tooth and nayle. And when they maye be suffered in no wyse to kepe it no lenger, but that death taketh them therfro: then if it maye bee no better, they will agree to be (as soone as they be hence) haunsed vppe in heauen, and be with god by and by. These folke are as verye nydeote fooles, as he that had kept frōm his chyldhodde a bagge full of chery stones, and cast such a fantasy therto, that he wolde not go from it for a bygger bagge filled full of golde.

These folke fare cosin, as Esope telleth in a fable that the snayle didde. For when Jupiter (whom the Poetes feyne for the great God) inuyted all the poore woormes of the earthe vnto a greate solemne feaste, that it pleased hym (I haue forgotte vpon what occasion) vpon a tyme to prepare for them: the snayle kept her at home, and woulde not come thereat. And when Jupiter asked her after, wherefore she came not at hys feast, where he sayde she shoulde haue beene welcome and haue faren wel, and shold haue seen a goodlye palice, and been delighted with manye goodlye pleasures: she aunswere hym, that she loued no place so well as her owne house. With whiche aunswere, Jupiter waxed so angry, that he said, sith she loued her house so well, she should neuer after goe from home, but should alway after beare her house vpon her backe wheresoever she went. And so hath she doone euer sincē as they say, and at the least wise I wot well she dooeth so nowe, and hath doone as long tyme as I can remember. ¶ *Vyncent.* Forsooth vnkle I would wene the tale wer not al feyned. For I think

verely that so much of your tale is true. ¶ *Anthony.* Esope meante by that feyned fable, to touche the folye of such folke as so sette theyr fantasy vpon some small symple pleasure, that they cannot fynd in their heart to forbeare it, neither for the pleasure of a better man, nor for the gayninge of a better thing. By whiche theyr fond foward fashion, they sometime fall in gret indignacion, and take therby no little harme.

And surely such christen folke, as by their foolish affeccion, whiche they haue set like the snayle vpon their own house here this earth, cannot for the lothnesse of leauyng that house, fynde in their heart with their good wille to goe to the gret feast that god prepareth in heauēn, and of his goodnes so gentlye calleth them to: belike I feare me (but if they mende that mynde in tyme) to be serued as the snayle was, and yet muche woorse too. For they be like to haue their house here the earth, bounde fast vpon their backes for euer, and not walke therwith where they will as the snayle crepeth aboue with hers, but lye faste bounde in the myddes with the foule fyre of hell about them.

For into this folye they bryngē themself by their own faulte, as the drunken manne bryngeth himself into drunkennesse, whereby the euill that he dooeth in his drunkennes is not forgeuen him for hys folye, but to hys payne imputed to hys faulte. ¶ *Vyncent.* Surely vnkle this semeth not vnlikely: and by theyr faulte they fall in such foly in dede. And yet if this be foly in dede, there are then some folke fooles that weene themselfe ryghte wyse. ¶ *Anthony.* That weene themselfe wyse? Mary I neuer sawe foole yet, that thought hymselfe other then wyse. For as it is one sparke of sobernes lefte in a droucken headde, when he perceyueth hymself drunke and geatteth hym faire to bedde: so if a foole perceyue hymself a foole, that poynte is no folye, but a litle sparke of witte. But nowe cosyn, as for these kynde of fooles, syth they be loth to dye, for the loue that they beare to theyr worldly fantasyes, whiche they shoulde by theyr death leauue behynde them and forsake: they that would for that cause, rather forsake the fayth than dye, wold rather forsake it then leese their worldly goodes, though there were offered them no peryll of death at all. And than as touchyng those that are of that mynde: we haue you wotte well, sayde as much as your selfe thought sufficient thys after noone here before.

¶ *Vyncent.* Verelye vnkle that is verye trewe. And nowe haue you rehearsed as farre as I can remember, all the other

kyndes of them that woulde be lothe to dye, for anye other respect then the grieuous qualities of shame and payne ioyned vnto death. And of all these kyndes, excepte the kynde of infidelitie, when no coumforte can helpe, but counsayle onelye to the atteyning of fayth, which fayth must be to the receyuyng of coumforte presupposed and hadde readye before, as you shewed in the begynnyng of our communicacion the first daye that we talked of the matter: but elles I say, except that one kynde, there is none of the remenaunte of those that wer before vntouched, whiche were lykelye to forsake their fayth in thys persecucion, for the feare and dreade of deathe, saue for those grieuous qualities (payn I mene and shame) that they see well woulde come therewith. And therefore vncle I praye you geue vs some coumforte agaynst those twayne. For in good fayth, if death should come withoute them, in suche a case as this is, wherein by the leesing of thys lyfe, wee shoulde fynde a farre better: myne owne reason geueth me, that saue for the tother grieves going before the chaunge, there would no man that witte hath, anye thyng sticke at all.

¶ *Anthony.* Yes, peraduenture sodaynly before they gather their wittes vnto them, and therewith well wey the matter. But they cosyn, that will consider the matter well: reason grounded vpon the foundation of fayth, shal shew them very great substanciall causes, for which the dreade of those grieuous qualities that they se shal come with death, shame I meane, and payn also, shall not so sore abashe theym, as synnefullye to dryue them therfro. For the prooфе wherof, let vs fyrst beginne at the consideracion of the shame.

¶ *Of the shame that is ioyned with the death, in the persecucion for the fayth*

¶ THE XXIII. CHAPTER

HOWE can any faythfull wise man dreade the deathe so sore, for anye respect of shame: whēn his reason and his fayth together, may shortlye make him perceiue, that there is therein no piece of very shame at all? for howe can that death be shamefull that is glorious? or howe can it be but glorious, to dye for the faith of Christ, if we dye both for the faith and in the fayth, ioyned with hope and charitie, whyle ye scripture so plainly sayth: *Preciosa in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius:* Precious is in the sight of God, the death of hys Sayntes. Nowe if the death

of hys Sayntes be glorious in the sight of God: it can neuer be shamefull in verye dede, howe shamefull soeuer it seeme here in the syghte of menne. For here we may see and be sure, that not at the death of saynt Steuen only, to whōm it lyked him to shewe himselfe with the heauen open ouer his headde, but at the death also of euery man that so dieth for the fayth: God with his heauenlye compayne, beholdeth his whole passion, and verely looketh on.

Now if it wer so cosin, that ye should be brought thorow ye brode high strete of a great long citie, and that al along ye way that ye wer going, ther wer on the tone side of ye way a rable of ragged beggers and madde men, that wold despysē and dispayse you, with al the shameful names that they could call you, and all the vilannous wordes that they could say to you: and that ther wer then all along the tother side of the same strete where you should come by, a goodly company standing in a fayre range, a rowe of wyse and woorshipfull folke, allowyng and commanding you: mo then xv. times as many as that rable of ragged beggers and raylyng mad men are: would you let your waye by your will, wening that ye went vnto your shame, for the shameful iestynge and rayling of those madde foolish wretches? or hold on your way with a good chere and a glad heart, thinking your selfe muche honored by the lawde and approbacion of that other honorable sort? ¶ *Vincent.* Nay by my trouth vncle there is no dout but I would much regard the commendacion of those commendable folke, and not regard a ryshe the rayling of all those ribauldes. ¶ *Anthony.* Then cosyn can ther no man that hath fayth, accounte hymselfe shamed here, by any maner death yt he suffreth for the fayth of Christ: while how vile and how shameful soeuer it seme in the sight here of a few worldlye wretches, it is alowed and approued for very precious, and honourable in the sight of god and al the glorious company of heauēn: which as perfittly stande and beholde it, as those pieuish people dooe, and are in number moe then an hundred to one. And of that hūndred, euery one a hundred times more to be regarded and estemed, then of the tother an hundred suche whole rables. And now if a man wold be so mad, as for feare of ye rebuke yt he should haue of such rebukeful beastes, he woulde be ashamed to confesse the fayth of Chryst: then with fleing frōm a shadow of shame, he should fall into a very shame, and a dedly paynful shame in dede. For then hath our sauouire made a sure promyse, yt he will shew himselfe ashamed of that man, before ye father of heauen and all

his holye Angels saying: in the ix. Ca. of S. Luk. *Qui me erubuerit et meos sermones: hunc filius hominis erubescet, quum venerit in maiestate sua et patris et sanctorum angelorum:* He yt is ashamed of me and my woordes, of him shall the sonne of man be ashamed, when he shall come in the maiestie of himself and of his father, and of his holy angelles. And what maner a shamefull shame shall that be then? If a mans chekes glowe sumtime for shame in this worlde: they will fall on fyre for shame, when Christ shall shew himselfe ashamed of them there.

To suffer the thing for Christes fayth yt we worldly wretched fooles wene wer vilany and shame: the blessed apostles reckened for great glory. For they when they wer with despighte and shame scoured, and therupon cōmmaunded to speake no more of the name of Christe, went their waye fro the cōnsel ioyful and glad, that god had vouchsafed to dooe them the worship, to suffer shameful despight for the name of Jesu. And so proud were they of ye shame and vilanous payn put vnto them, that for all the forbidding of that great cōnsell assembled, they ceased not euery day to preache out the name of Jesu still: not in the tēmple only out of which they were sette and whipped for the same before, but also to double it with, went preaching ye name about from house to house too.

I would sith we regard so gretly thestimacion of worldly folke: we would among many naughty thinges that they vse, regarde also some suche as are good. For it is a maner among them in many places, that some by handy crafte, some by marchandise, some by other kynde of liuing, arise and come forward in ye world. And cōmmonly folk are in youth set furth to conuenient maisters, vnder whōm they be brought vp and grow. But now whensoeuer they finde a seruānt such, as he disdeineth to dooe such thinges as he that is his maister did while he was seruaunte himself. That seruant euery man accōunteth for a prowde vnthrift, neuer like to come to good prooфе. Let vs lo marke and consider this, and weigh well therwithall, that our master Christ (not ye master onlye, but the maker too, of all thys whole world) was not so proude to disdeine for our sakes, the most vilanous and moste shamefull death, after ye worldly count, that then was vsed in ye worlde. And the most despiteful mocking therewith: ioyned to moste grieuous Payne, as crowning him wt sharp thorne, yt the blud ran down about his face, thēn they gaue hym a rede in his hand for a scepter, and kneled downe to hym and saluted him lyke a king in skorn, and bet then the rede vpon ye sharp thornes about his holy head. Now saith our sauior

yt the disciple or seruānt is not aboue his master. And therfore sith our master endured so mani kindes of painful shame: very proude beastes may we well thinke our self, if we disdeyn to doe as our maister did. And whereas he thorow shame ascēnded into glory, we wold be so madde, that we rather will fall into euer lasting shame, both before heauēn and hell, then for feare of a short worldly shame, to folow him into everlasting glory.

¶ *Of paynfull death, to be suffered in the Turkes persecucion, for the fayth*

¶ THE XXIIII. CHAPTER

Vyncent. In good fayth vncle, as for the shame ye shall nede to take no more payn. For I suppose surely, that any mān that hath reason in his head: shall hold himself satisfyed with this. But of trueth vncle, al the pinch is in the pain. For as for shame, I perceiue well now, a man may with wisedom so maister it, that it shall nothing moue hym at all: so farre furth that it is almoste in euerye countrey becomen a common prouerbe, that shame is as it is taken. But by god vncle, all the wisdom in this world can neuer so maister Payne, but that Payne wil be paynfull, spite of all the witte in thys world.

¶ *Anthony.* Trouthe it is cosin, that no man can with all the reason he hath, in such wyse chaunge the nature of Payne, that in the hauing of pain, he fele it not. For but if it be felt, it is perdy no payn. And that is the naturall cause cosin, for which a man may haue hys legge stricken of by the knee and grieue him not, if his head be of but halfe an howre afore. But reson maye make a resonable man though he wold not be so folish as causeles to fall therin, yet vpon good causes, either of gayning some kind of gret profit, or auoyding some kind of gret losse, or eschewing therby the suffering of far greater payn: not to shrinke therrefro and refuse it to his more hurt and harm: but for his farre greater aduaantage and commoditie, content and gladde to sustaine it. And thys dooeth reson alone in manye cases, where it hathe muche lesse help to take holde of, then it hath in this matter of fayth. For well you wotte, to take a sowre and a bitter pocion, is gret grieve and displeasure. And to be launced and haue the flesh cut, is no little payn. Nowe when such thinges shal be minystred vnto a chylde, or to some chyldishe man eyther: they wyll by theyr owne willes, rather lette theyr syckenesse or theyr sore growe vnto theyr more grieve tyll it be come incurable, then abyde the Payne of

the curing in time: and that for faynt heart ioyned with lacke of discretion. But a man that hath more wisdōm, though he wolde without cause no more abide the Payne willingly, then woulde the tother: yet sith reason sheweth hym what good he shall haue by the suffering, and what harme by the refusinge: thys maketh him well content and glad also for to take it.

Now then if reason alone, be sufficient to moue a man to take Payne, for the gayning of worldly rest or plesure, and for thauoyding of another payn (though peraduenture more, yet endurable but for a short season) why shold not reason grounded vpon the sure foundacion of fayth, and holpen also forewarde wyth ayde of Goddes grace (as it euer is vndoubtedly, when folke for a good mynde in goddes name commen together theron: our sauior saying himself. *Vbi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi et ego sum in medio eorum* : Where ther are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I also euen in the verye middes of them.) Why should not then reason I say thus forthered with fayth and grace, be much more hable, first to engender in vs such an affeccion, and after by long and depe meditacion thereof, so to continue that affeccion, that it shall turne into an habitual fast and depe rooted purpose, of pacient suffring the paynful deth of this body here in earth, for the gaining of euerlasting welthy life in heuen, and auoyding of euerlastyng paynefull death in hell. ¶ *Vyncent*. By my trouth vnkle, woordes can I none find, that shoulde haue anye reason with them (fayth alwaye presupposed, as you protested in the beginning for a grounde) woordes I say can I none find, wherwith I might resonably cōnterplede thys that you haue sayde here already. But yet I remember the fable that Esope telleth, of a greate olde hart that had fled from a little bitch, whiche had made suite after hym, and chased hym so long, that she had lost him, and as he hoped, more then halfe geuen him ouer. By occasion wherof, hauing then some time to talke, and meting with another of his felowes: he fell in deliberacion with him what wer best for him to dooe, whether to runne on stylle and flye farther from her, or tourne agayne and fyghte with her. Whereunto the tother hart aduySED hym to flye no farther, leste the bitche might happen to finde him again, at such time as he should with the labour of ferther fleing, be fallen out of breth, and therby al out of strength too: and so shold he be kild lying, where he could not styrre him. Wheras if he wold turn and fight, he wer in no peril at all. For the man with whom she hunteth, is more then a myle behind her, and she is but a little

body scant half so much as thou, and thi hornes may thrust her thorow before she can touche thy fleshe, by more then ten tymes her tooth length. By my trouth quoth ye tother hart, I like your counsell well, and me thinketh that the thinge is euen soothly such as you say. But I feare me whēn I heare once that vrchin bitch bark I shall fall to my feete and forgeatte all together.

But yet and you wil go backe with me, then me think we shal be strong ynough against that one bitch betwene vs both. Whereunto ye tother heart agreed, and so they both appointed thēm theron. But euēn as they were aboue to buske them forward to it, the bitch had founde the foote agayn: and on she came yerning toward ye place: whom as soone as the hartes herd: they to go both twayn apace.

And in good faith vnkle, euēn so I feare it wold fare by my self and many other too: whiche though we thinke it reason that you say, and in our mindes agree that we should do as ye say, yea and dooe peraduēture thinke also yt we would in dede dooe as ye say: yet as soone as we should once heare those hell houndes these Turkes come yalping and balling vpōn vs: our hertes should soone fall as clene from vs, as those other hartes flee fro the houndes. ¶ *Anthony.* Cosin in those dayes that Esope speketh of, though those hartes and other brute bestes mo, had (if he say sooth) the power to speke and talke, and in their talking power to talke reason too: yet to folow reson and rule themself therby, therto had they neuer geuēn them ye power. And in good fayth cosin, as for suche thynges as pertein toward ye conducting of resonable men to saluacion: I thinke without helpe of grace, mens resoning shall dooe little more. But then are we sure as I said afore, yt as for grace if we desyre it god is at such resoning alway present, and very ready to geue it: and but if that mēn will afterward willingly cast it away, he is euer still as readye to kepe it, and fro time to time glad to encrese it. And therfore biddeth vs our lord by the mouth of the Prophete, that we should not be like such brutish and vnreasonable beastes, as wer those hartes, and as are horses and mules. *Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus:* Be not you like an horse and a mule that hath none vnderstanding. And therfore cosyn lette vs neuer dreade, but that if we will applye our mindes to the gathering of coumforte and courage agaynst such persecutions, and heare reson, and let it synke into our heart, and cast it not out agayne, vomite it not vp nor euen there choke it vp and styfle it, with pampering in and stuffing vp our stomakes with a surfit of worldly vanities: god

shall so well woorke therewith, that we shall fele strength therein: and not in such wise haue all such shameful cowardous heartes, as to forsake oure sauour, and thereby lose our owne saluacion and runne into eternall fyre for feare of death ioyned therewith though bytter and sharpe, yet short for all that, and in a maner a momentary payne.

¶ *Vyncent.* Euery man vnkle, naturally grudgeth at payne, and is verye loth to come to it.

¶ *Anthony.* That is verye trouth: nor no man byddeth any manne to goe runne into it, but that if he be taken and maye not flee: then we say that reson playnlye telleth vs, that we shoulde rather suffer and endure the lesse and the shorter here then in hel the sorer, and so farre the lenger too.

¶ *Vyncent.* I hearde vnkle of late, where such a reson was made as you make me nowe: whiche reason semeth vndoubted and vneuitable vnto me. Yet herd I late as I saye, a man aunswere it thus. He sayde, that if a man in this persecucion should stand still in the confession of his fayth, and therby fall into paynfull turmentrye: he might peraduenture happe for the sharpenes and bytternesse of the payn, to forsake our sauour euen in the myddes, and dye there with his synne, and so be damned for euer. Whereas by the forsakyng of the fayth in the begynnyng betime, and for the tyme, and yet not but in woord neither, kepyng it still neuerthelesse in his heart: a man maye sauue hymselfe from that paynfull deth, and after aske mercye and haue it, and liue long, and dooe many good dedes, and be sauued as Saynt Peter was.

¶ *Anthony.* That mannes reson cosyn is like a three footed stoole, so tottring on euery side, yt whoso sit theron, maye soone take a foule fall. For these are ye thre fete of this tottring stoole, fantasticall feare, false fayth, false flattering hope. Fyrst it is a fantasticall feare yt the man conceiueth, that it should be perilous to stande in the confession of the faith at the beginning, lest he might afterward thorow ye bitternes of pain, fall to the forsaking: and so dye there in the payn, therwith out of hand, and therby be vtterly damned. As though yt if a man by pain wer ouercome, and so forsooke his fayth: god coulde not or woulde not aswell geue him grace to repent agayn, and therupon geue him forgeuenes: as him yt forsooke his fayth in ye beginning, and did set so little by him, yt he wold rather forsake hym then suffer for his sake any maner Payne at all. As though ye more Payne that a man taketh for gods sake, ye woorse wolde god be to him. If this reson wer not vnreasonable,

then should our sauour not haue sayde as he did. *Ne terreamini ab his qui occidunt corpus, et posthac non habent amplius quid faciant:* Feare not them that may kill the body, and after that haue nothing yt they can dooe ferther. For he should by thys reson haue sayd: Drede and feare thēm that may slay the body: for they may by ye torment of paynful deth, but if thou forsake me betymes in the begynning, and so sauē thy life, and geatte of me thy pardon and forgeuenes after, make the peraduenture forsake me to late, and so to be damned for euer. The secōnd foote of this tottering stoole, is a false fayth. For it is but a feined faith for a man to say to god secretly, yt he beleueth him, trusteth him, and loueth him: and then openlye where he should to gods honour tell the same tale, and therby proue that he dooeth so: there to gods dishonor asmuch as in him is, flatter gods enemies, and dooe them pleasure and worldly woorship, with the forsaking of gods fayth before the worlde: and is either faithles in his hert too, or els woteth wel yt he dooeth god this despight euen before his own face. For except he lacke fayth, he cannot but know yt our lord is euery where present: and while he so shamefully forsaketh him, full angerlye looketh on. The third foote of this tottering stoole, is false flattning hope: for sith ye thing that he dooeth when he forsaketh his faith for feare, is by ye mouth of god vpon ye payn of eternal deth forboden: though ye goodnes of god forgeueth many folke ye faut, yet to be bolder in offending for the hope of forgeuing, is a verye false pestilente hope, wherwith a man flattreth himself toward his own destruccion. He that in a sodayn brayde for feare, or other affeccion vnauidisedlye, falleth, and after in labouring to rise again, cōfōrteth himself with hope of gods gracious forgeuenes, walketh in ye ready way toward his saluacion. But he yt with the hope of gods mercy to folowe, dooeth encourage himself to sin, and therwith offendeth god first: I haue no power to shet the hand of god fro geuing out hys pardon where he list nor would if I could, but rather helpe to pray therfore. But yet I very sore feare, that such a man may misse the grace to require it, in suche effectuall wise as to haue it granted. Nor I cannot sodainly now remēber any sample or promise expressed in holye scripture, yt the offender in such a kind shall haue ye grace offered after, in such wise to seeke for pardon, yt god (by his other promises of remission promised to penitentes) boünden hymself to graūnt it. But this kind of pre-*sūmpcion* vnder pretexte of hope, semeth rather to drawe nere on the tone side (as dispayre dooth on ye tother side) toward the

abominable sinne of blasphemy agaynst ye holy gost. Against which sinne, cōcerning either ye impossibilitie, or at the least the gret difficultie of forgeuenes: Our sauiour hath shewed himself in ye xii. Chapter of S. Math. and in the iii. Chapter of S. Marke where he saith, that blasphemy against the holy ghost shal neuer be forgeuen, neither in this world, nor in ye world to come. And where ye man yt you speke of, tooke in his reason a saumple of S. Peter, whiche forsooke our sauiour, and gate forgeuenes after: let him consider again on ye tother side, yt he forsooke him not vpon ye boldnes of any such sinnefull trust, but was ouercomen and vanquished vpon a sodayn feare. And yet by yt forsaking, S. Peter wānne but litle, for he did but delaye hys trouble for a little while you wot well. For beside yt, he repented furthwith verye sore, yt he so had doone: and wept therfore by and by full bitterly: he came furth at ye whitsuntide ensuing, and confessed his maister again: and soone after that, he was impriesoned therfore: and not ceasing so, was therupon sore scourged for the confession of his fayth: and yet after that, imprisoned again a freshe: and being frōm thence deliuered, stinted not to prech on still, vntil that after manifold labors trauayles, and troubles, he was at Rome crucified, and with cruel torment slain.

And in lykewyse, I weene I myghte in a maner well warraunte, that there shall no man whiche denieth our sauioure once, and after attayneth remyssion: escape thorowe that denying one penye the better chepe: but that he shall ere he come in heauen, full surelye paye therfore.

¶ *Vyncent*. He shall peraduenture vncle, afterward woorke it out, in the fruitfull woorkes of penance, praier, and almes dede doone in true faith and due charitie, and attayne in suche wyse forgeuenesse well ynough.

¶ *Anthony*. All his forgeuenes goeth (cosin you see well) but by perhappes. But as it may be perhappes yea: so may it be perhappes nay, and where is he than? And yet you wot well by no maner happe, he shall neuer happe finally to scape from death, for feare of which he forsooke hys fayth. ¶ *Vyncent*. No but he may dye hys naturall death, and escape that vyonent death: and then he saueth himself fro much Payne, and so winneth therewith much ease. For euermore a vyonente death is paynefull. ¶ *Anthony*. Peraduenture he shall not auoyde a violent death therby. For god is without doubte displeased, and can bring him shortly to a death as vyonent by some other way.

Howbeit I see well that you reckon, that whoso dyeth a

natural death, dyeth like a wanton euēn at his ease. You make me remember a man that was once in a galey subtil with vs on the sea: whiche while the sea was sore wrought, and the waues rose verye hygh, and he came neuer on the sea afore, and lay tossed hether and thether: the poore soule groned sore, and for payn he thought he would verye fayn be dead, and euer he wished: would god I wer on lande, that I might dye in rest. The waues so troubled hym there, with tossing him vppe and down too and fro, that he thoughte that trouble letted him to dye, because the waues wold not let him reste. But if he might geat once to land, he thoughte he shoulde then dye there euēn at his ease. ¶ *Vyncent.* Nay vncle, this is no doute, but that death is to euery mon paynefull. But yet is not the naturall death so paynfull as is the violent. ¶ *Anthony.* By my trouth cosin, me thinketh that the death which men calle commonly naturall, is a vyonent death to euery man whome it fetcheth hence by force agaynst his will. And that is euery man, which when he dyeth is loth to dye, and fayn would yet liue longer if he might.

Howbeit, how small the pain is in the naturall death cosin, fayn would I wit who hath tolde you. As farre as I can perceiue, those folke that commonly departe of their naturall death, haue euer one disease and sickenes or other: wheroif the payn of ye whole weke or twayn in which they lye pyning in their bedde, were gathered together in to so shorte a tyme, as a man hath hys Payne that dyeth a vyonent deth: it wold I wene make double the payn that it is, so that he that naturallye dyeth, ofter suffereth more Payne then lesse, though he suffer it in a lenger time. And then woulde manye a man be more lothe to suffer so long lyngeryng in Payne, then with a sharper to be sooner ridde. And yet lyeth manye a man moe dayes then one, in welnere as great Payne continually, as is the Payne that with the vyonent deathe riddeth the man in lesse then half an howre. Except a man would wene, that wheras the Payne is great to haue a knyfe to cut his fleshe on the outsyde fro the skyn inwarde: the Payne woulde be much lesse, if the knyfe myght beginne on the insyde, and cutte fro the middes outward.

Some we heare in their death bed cōplayne, that they thinke they feele sharp knyues cutte a two their hert strynges. Some crye out and thinke they fele within the brayne pan, their head pricked euēn full of pinnes. And they yt lye in a plewrosy, thinke that euery time they cough, they fele a sharpe sweorde swap them to the heart.

¶ The consideracion of the paynes of hel, in which we fall if we forsake our sauour, may make vs sette all the paynefull death of this world, at right nought

¶ THE XXV. CHAPITER

HOWBEIT what should we nedē to make any such comparison betwene the naturall death and the violent, for the matter that we be in hande with here. We may put it out of doubte, that he whiche for feare of the vyoilent death, forsaketh the fayth of Chryste, putteth himselfe in the peril to fynd his natural death more paynefull a thousande tymes. For hys natural death hath his euerlasting pain so soodaynely knytte vnto it, that ther is not one moment of an howre betwene, but the end of the tone, is the beginning of the tother that after neuer shall haue ende. And therfore was it not withoute great cause that Chryst gauē vs so good warning before, when he sayd as saynt Luke in the xii. Chapter rehearseth. *Dico autem vobis amicis meis, ne terre- amini ab his qui occidunt corpus, et post hac non habent amplius quid faciant. Ostendam autem vobis quem timeatis. Timete eum qui postquam occiderit, habet potestatem mittere in gehennām. Ita dico vobis hunc timete.* I say to you that are my frendes, be not afearde of them that kill the bodye, and whiche when that is doone, are hable to dooe no more. But I shall shewe you whome you shold feare. Feare hym which when he hath killed, hath in his power farther to caste hym whome he killeth into euerlasting fyer. So I say to you be afeard of him.

God meaneth not here, that we shold nothing dreade at all, any man that can but kyll the bodye: but he meaneth, that we shoulde not in such wyse dreade anye such, that we should for dreade of them, displesē hym, that can euerlastingly kill both bodye and soule, with a death euer dying, and that shall yet neuer dye. And therfore he addeth and repeteth in the ende agayne, the feare that we shoulde haue of him, and saith. *Ita dico vobis, hunc timete.* So I say to you, feare him.

Oh good God cosin, if a man woulde well weygh those woordes, and let them sinke as they shoulde dooe, downe diepe into hys heart, and often bethinke hymself theron: it woulde I doubt not be hable ynough to make vs set at naught, all the great Turkes threttes, and esteme him not at a strawe: but well contente to endure al the payn that al the world could put vpon vs, for so short while as al they wer hable to make vs dwell therein:

rather then by the shrinking fro thcse paynes (though neuer so sharp, yet but short) to cast our self into the Payne of hell, an hundred thousand tymes more intollerable, and wheroft there shall neuer come an ende.

A woful death is that death, in which folke shal euermore be dying, and neuer can once be dead. Wheroft the scripture saith. *Desiderabūnt mori, et fugiet mors ab eis.* They shall call and crye for death, and deathe shall flye fro them.

Oh good lord, if one of them wer now putte in choyce of the both: they woulde rather suffer the whole yere together, ye most terrible death that all the Turkes in Turkey could deuyse, then the deathe that they lye in for the space of halfe an howre. In how wretched foly fall then those faythlesse or fieble faythed folke, yt to auoyde the payn so farre the lesse, and so short, fall in the stede therof, into pain a thousand thousand tymes more horrible, and of whiche terrible torment, they be sure they shall neuer haue ende.

This matter cosin lacketh, as I belieue, but either full fayth or sufficiente mynding. For I thinke on my fayth, if we haue the grace verely to belieue it, and often to thinke well thereon: the feare of all the Turkes persecucion (with al this mid day deuill wer hable to make them do in the forcing vs to forsake our faith) should neuer be hable to turne vs. ¶ *Vyncent.* By my trouth vncle I thynke it is as you say. For surely if we would as oftēn thinke on these paynes of hell, as we be verye loth to doe: and seeke vs pieuish pastimes of purpose, to put such heauye thyngeſ out of oure thoughte: this one poynſ alone wer hable ynough to make (I thinke) many a martyr.

¶ *The consideracion of the ioyes of heauen, should make vs for chryſtes sake, abyde and endure any paynefull death*

¶ THE XXVI. CHAPITER

Anthony. Forsooth cosin, if we wer such as we shoulde be: I would scant for very shame, in exhortacion to the keping of Christes fayth, speake of ye paynes of hell. I wold rather put vs in mind of the ioyes of heauen: the pleasure wheroft we should be more glad to geat, then we shoulde be to flee and escape all the paynes in hell.

But surely god, in ye thing wherin he may seme most rigorous, is merueilous mercifull to vs. And yt is (which manye men wold little wene) in that he prouyded hel. For I suppose very

surely cosin, that many a man and woman too, of whom there now sit some, and more shall hereafter sit, full gloriously crowned in heauen: hadde they not fyrst been afayde of hell, would towarde heauen never haue set foote forward.

But yet vndoubtedly, were it so that we could as wel conceiue in our heartes the merueylyous ioyes of heauen, as we conceiue the ferefyl paynes of hell (howbeit sufficiently we can conceiue neither nother) but if we could in our ymagination draw as much toward ye perceiving of the tone, as we may toward ye consideracion of ye tother: we wold not fayle to be farre more moued and stiered, to the suffring for Christes sake in this world, for the winning of these heauenly ioyes, then for thes chewing of all those infernall paynes. But for as much as ye fleshly pleasures be farre lesse pleasant, then the fleshly paynes are paynfull: therfore we fleshlye folke that are so drownde in these fleshly pleasures, and in the desyre therof, that we can almost haue no maner sauour or tast in any pleasure spirituall: haue no cause to meruayle yt oure fleshlye affeccions, be more abated and refrayned by the dreade and terroure of hell, then affeccions spirituall imprinted in vs and pricked forward, with the desyre and ioyfull hope of heauen.

Howbeit, if we would sumwhat sette lesse by the filthye voluptuous appetites of the flesh: and would by withdrawing from them, with helpe of prayer thorow the grace of god, draw nerer to ye secrete inward pleasure of the spirite: we shall by the little sypping that oure heartes should haue here now, and that sodain tast therof, haue such an estimacion of the incomparable and vncogitable ioye that we shall haue (if we will) in heauen, by the very full draught thereof, wherof it is writen: *Satiabor quūm apparuerit gloria tua*: I shal be saciate, satisfyed, or fulfilled, when thy glory good lord shall appeare, that is to witte, with the fruicion of the sight of Goddes glorious maiestye face to face: that the desyre, expectacion, and heauenly hope therof, shall more encourage vs, and make vs stronge, to suffer and sustayne for the loue of god and saluacion of our soule, then euer we could be made to suffer here worldlye Payne, by the terrible drede of all the horrible paynes that dāmned wretches haue in hell.

Wherfore in the meane time, for lack of such experimental tast, as god geueth here sometime to some of his special seruauntes, to thentent we may drawe toward ye spirituall exercise too, for whiche spirituall exercise, god with that gyft as with an earnest peny of their whole reward after in heauen,

coumforteth thēm here in earth: let vs not so much with loking to haue descriybed what maner of ioyes they shalbe: as with hearing what our lord telleth vs in holy scripture how merueylous great they shall be, laboure by prayer to conceyue in oure heartes, such a feruent longing for thēm, that we may for atteyning to them, vtterly sette at naught all fleshly delyte, al worldlye pleasures, all earthly losses, all bodelye torment and payn. Howbeit, some thinges are ther in scripture expressed, of the maner of ye pleasures and ioyes that we shall haue in heauen: as where *Fulgebunt iusti sicut sol, et qui erudiunt ad iustitiam, tanquam scintille in arundineto discurrent*: Righteous menne shal shine as ye sunne, and shal rūnne aboute like sparkles of fyre among redes.

Now tell some carnall mynded man of this maner pleasure: and he shal take little pleasure therin, and say he careth not to haue his flesh shyne he, nor like a sparke of fyre to skippe about in the skye. Telle him that hys bodye shalbe impassible, and neuer feele harme: yet if he thinke than therewith, that he shal neuer be an hungred nor a thyrst, and shal therby forbeare all his pleasure of eatyng and drynkynge: and that he shal neuer haue list to slepe, and therby leese the pleasure yt he was woont to take in slugging: and that men and wōmēn shal there liue together as Angels without any maner minde or mocion vnto ye carnall act of generacion, and that he shall therby not vse there his old filthy voluptuous fashion: he wil saye he is better at ease alredy, and wold not geue this worlde for that. For as S. Paule sayth: *Animalis homo non percipit ea qua sunt spiritus dei. Stultitia enim est illi*: A carnal man feleth not the things that be of the spirite of God, for it is foolishnes to him. But when the time shall come, that these fowle filthye pleasures shalbe so taken from hym, yt it shall abhorre hys hearte once to thinke on thēm: wherof euery mān hath amōng, a certayn shadow of experience in a feruent grief of a sore painful sickenes, while the stomake can scant abide to looke vpon anye meate: and as for the actes of ye tother foule filthy lust, is ready to vomite if it happe him to thinke theron: When men shal I say after this life, feele that horrible abhominacion in their hert at the remembraunce of these voluptuous pleasures, of which abhominacion sickenes hathe here a shadowe: for whiche voluptuous pleasures he wold here be loth to change with the ioyes of heauen: when he shall I say after this life, haue his fleshly pleasures in abhominacion, and shall of those heauenly ioyes which be set here so litle by, haue there a glimeryng, thoughe

far from a perfit sight: Oh good God, howe fayn will he than be, with how good will and how gladd, will he than geue thys whole world if it wer his, to haue the felinge of some little parte of those ioyes. And therfore let vs all, that cannot now conceiue such delite in the consideracion of them as we shoulde haue often in our eyen by readinge, often in our eares by hearing, often in our mouthes by rehersing, often in our hertes by meditacion and thynking those ioyefull woordes of holy scripture, by which we learne how woonderfull houge and gret those spirituall heauenly ioyes are, of whiche our carnal heartes hath so fieble and so faynte a feling, and our dull worldly wittes so litle able to conceue, so much as a shadow of the right ymagination. A shadowe I saye: for as for the thyng as it is, that can not only no fleshly carnall fantasy conceiue: but ouer that no spirituall gostly persone peraduenture neither, that here is liuing still in this world. For sith the very substance essentiall of all the celestiall ioy, standeth in blessed beholding of the glorious godhed face to face: there may no man presume or looke to attayn it in this lyfe. For God hath so sayd him self. *Non videbit me homo et viuet*: Ther shal no man here liuing beholde me. And therefore we may wel knowe, that for ye state of thys life, we be not only shet from the fruicion of the blisse of heauen: but also that the very best man liuing here vpon earth (the best manne I meane being no more but a man) cannot I wene atteyn ye ryght imaginacion therof: but those yt are very verteous, are yet in a maner as farre therefro, as the borne blynd man, fro the right ymagination of colours.

The woordes that saynt Paule reherseth of the Prophete Esay, prophecyng of Christes incarnacion, may properly be verified of the ioyes of heauen. *Oculus non vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparauit deus diligentibus se.* For surely for this state of this world, the ioyes of heauen are by mannes mouthe vnspeakeable, to mans eares not audible, to mens heartes vncogitable: so farre furth excel they all that euer men haue heard of, all that euer men can speake of, and all that euer any man can by naturall possibilite thinke on. And yet where the ioyes of heauen be such prepared for euery sauued soule: our lord sayth yet by the mouth of S. John, that he wil geue his holy martyrs that suffer for his sake, many a speciaill kind of ioy. For he sayth: *Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vite*: To him that ouercometh, I shal geue him to eate of the tree of life. And also he that ouercometh, shal be clothed in whyte clothes. And I shall confesse his name before my father and

before his angels. And also he saith, feare none of those thinges that thou shalt esuffer, etc. but be faythful vnto the death, and I shall geue thee the crown of lyfe. He that ouercometh, shall not be hurte of the second death. He sayth also. *Vincenti dabo manna absconditum, et dabo illi calculum candidum, et in calculo nomen nouum scriptum, quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit.* To hym that ouercometh, will I geue manna secret and hid, and I wil geue hym a whyte suffrage, and in his suffrage a new name writtēn, which no man knoweth but he that receiueth it.

They vsed of olde in Grece (where S. John did write) to elect and choose men vnto honorable rowmes, and euery mans assent was called his suffrages: whiche in some place was by the voices, in some place by handes. And one kinde of those suffrages, was by certayn thynges that are in latine called *calculi*, because that in some places, they vsed therto round stones. Now sayth our lord, that vnto him which ouercometh, he will geue a white suffrage: for those that were whyte, signifyed approouyng, as the blacke signifyed reproouing. And in those suffrages, dydde they vse to wryte the name of him to whome they gaue theyr voyce. And now sayth our lord, that to hym that ouercometh, he will in the suffrage geue him a newe name whiche no man knoweth but he that receiueth it.

He sayeth also, he that ouercometh, I wil make him a pillow in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out therof, and I shall write vpon him the name of my god, and the name of the citie of my God, the new Hierusalem which descendeth from heauen fro my God, and I shall wryte on him also my new name.

If we would dilate, and wer hable to declare, these speciall gyftes, with yet other moe specified in the seconde and the thyrde Chapiter of thapocalips, there would it appeare, howe farre those heauenly ioyes, shall surmount aboue all ye coumfort that euer came in the mynd of any man liuing here vpon earth.

The blessed Apostle Saynte Paule yt suffred so manye perilles, and so manye passions, he that sayth of hymself that he hath ben, *In laboribus pluribus, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, etc.* in manye labors, in prisons ofter then other, in strypes aboue measure, at poynt of death often times, of the Jewes hadde I v. times xl. stripes saue one, thrise haue I ben beten wt roddes, once was I stoned, thryse haue I ben in shipwrack, a day and a night was I in the depth of the sea, in my iourneys oft haue I been in peril of floudes, in peril of theues, in peril by the Jewes, in perilles by the Paynims, in perilles in ye

citie, in perilles in desert, in perilles in the sea, perylles by false brethren, in labour and misery, in manye fastinges, in cold and nakednes: besyde those thinges yt are outward, my dayly instant labor, I meane my care and sollicitude about all the churches: and yet sayth he more of hys tribulacions which for the length I let passe: this blessed Apostle I saye for all these tribulacions yt himself suffered in the continuance of so many yeres, calleth it all ye tribulacions of this world, but light and as short as a moment, in respect of the waigthy glorie that it after this world winneth vs. *Id enim quod in presenti est momentaneum, et leue tribulationis nostre: supra modum in sublimitate eternum glorie pondus operatur in nobis, non contemplantibus nobis que videntur sed que non videntur: que enim videntur temporalia sunt, que autem non videntur eterna sunt:* Thys same shorte and momentarye tribulacion of ours that is in thys present tyme, woorketh within vs ye weyght of glory aboue measure, *in sublimitate on hygh:* we beholding not these thynges that we see, but those things that we see not. For those things that we see, bee but temporalle thinges: but those thinges that are not seen, are eternall.

Now to this great glory can ther no man come hedlesse. Our head is Christ: and therfore to him must we be ioyned, and as members of his must we folow him, if we will come thither. He is our guyde to guyde vs thither, and is entred in before vs, and he therfore that wil entre in after, *debet sicut ille ambulauit et ipse ambulare*, the same way that Chryst walked, the same way must he walke. And what was the waye by which he walked into heauen? himself sheweth what way it was yt his father had prouyded for him, where he said vnto ye two disciples going toward ye castel of Emaus, *Nōnne hæc oportuit pati Christum et ita intrare in gloriam suam:* Knewe you not yt christ must suffer passion, and by yt way entre into his kingdom? Who can for very shame desyre to enter into ye kingdom of Christ with ease, when himselfe entred not into his owne without payn.

¶ *The consideracion of ye paynfull death of Christ, is sufficient to make vs content to suffer paynfull death for his sake*

¶ THE XXVII. CHAPITER

SURELY cosin as I sayd before, in bearing the losse of worldly goodes, in suffring of captiuitie, thraldome and imprisonment, and in the glad susteining of worldlye shame, yt if we woulde in

all those poyntes depely ponder ye sample of our sauior himself, it wer of it self alone sufficiēt, to encourage euery kynd christen man and woman, to refuse none of all those calamities for hys sake: so saye I nowe for painfull death also, that if we could and would with dew cōpassion, conceiue in our mindes a right ymagineacion and remēmbrance of christes bitter painful passion, of ye manye sore bloudy strokes yt the cruel turmentors with roddes and whippes gaue him, vpon euery part of his holy tender body: the scornful croun of sharp thornes, beaten down vpon hys holy head, so strayte and so diepe, that on euery part his blessed bloude issued out and stremed down: his louely limmes drawen and stretched out vpon ye crosse, to thintolerable Payne of his forebeaten and sore beaten vaynes and sinewes, - newe feeling with the cruell stretching and strayning, payn farre passing any crampe in euery part of his blessed body at once: then the great long nayles cruelly drieuen with hammers thorow his holy hāndes and fete: and in this horrible payn, lift vp and lette hang with the payce of al his body bearing down vpon ye painful wōünded places so greuously perced wt nailes: and in suche turment (without pittie, but not without many dispightes) suffred to be pyned and payned the space of more then three long howres, till himself willingly gaue vp vnto his father his holi soule after which yet to shew the mightinesse of their malice, after his holye soule departed, they perced his holye heart with a sharpe speare, at which issued oute the holy bloud and water, wheroft his holy sacramēntes haue inestimable secret strenth: if we wold I say remēmber these thinges, in such wise as wold god we wold: I verely suppose yt the consideracion of his incomparable kindnesse, could not fayle in suche wise to inflame our kaye cold hertes, and set them on fyre in his loue that we should find our self not only cōtent, but also gladde and desyrous to suffer death for hys sake, yt so merueylous louingly letted not to sustein so farre passing painful death for ours. Would god we wold here, to ye shame of our cold affection agayn toward god, for such feruent loue and inestimable kyndnes of god toward vs, would god we wold I say, but consider, what hoat affection many of these fleshly louers, haue borne and dayly doo, to those vpon whōm they dote. How many of thēm haue not letted to ieopard theyr lyues: and how many haue willingly lost their liues in dede, without either gret kindnes shewed thēm before (and afterward you wot well they could nothing win) but euen yt it contented and satisfyed their mind, yt by their death their louer shold clerely see, how faythfully they loued: ye delite

whereof imprinted in theyr fantasy, not asswaged only, but counterpaysed also they thought al their payn. Of these affections wt the wonderful dolorous affectes folowing theron: not only old writen stories, but ouer yt I think in euery countrey christen and hethen both, experience geueth vs proofe inough. And is it not than a woonderful shame for vs, for ye drede of temporal deth to forsake our sauior that willingly suffred so painful deth, rather then he wold forsake vs? cōsidering that beside yt, he shal for our suffring, so highly reward vs with euerlasting wealth. Oh if he yt is content to dye for his loue, of whōm he looketh after for no reward, and yet by his deth goth frōm her, might by his deth be sure to come to her, and euer after in delyte and pleasure to dwel with her: such a louer wold not let here to dye for her twise. And how colde louers be we then vnto god, if rather thān dye for him once, we wil refuse him and forsake him for euer, that both dyed for vs before, and hath also prouided, yt if we dye here for him, we shal in heauen euerlastingli both liue and also reign wt him. For as S. Paule saith. *Si cōcompatimur, et conregnabimus:* If we suffer wt him, we shal reygn wt him. How many Romans, how many noble courages of other sundry countreys, haue willingly geuen their own liues, and suffred gret dedly paines and very painful deathes, for their countreys, and the respect of winning by their deathes, ye onely reward of worldly renoume and fame. And shold we thān shrink to suffer asmuch for eternall honor in heauen and euerlasting glory: The deuil hath also some so obstinate heretikes, yt endure wittingly painful death for vain glorye, and is it not then more then shame, yt Christ shal se his catholikes forsake his fayth, rather then suffer the same for heauen and very glory?

Wold god as I mani times haue said, yt the remēbrance of Christes kindnes in suffring his passiōn for vs, ye consideraciōn of hell yt we shold fall in by forsaking of him, ye ioyful meditacion of eternal lyfe in heuēn, yt we shal win wt this short temporall deth paciently taken for him: had so depe a place in our brest, as resōn wold they shold: and as if we wold doo our deuor toward it, and labor for it and pray therefore, I verely thinke they shoulde. For then shold thei so take vp our mind and rauish it al an other way: yt as a mān hurt in a fray feleth not somtime his woūnd, nor yet is not ware therof till hys mind fall more theron: so farrefurth yt somtime another man sheweth him yt he hath lost an hand before he perceue it himselfe: so ye mynde rauished in ye thinking depely of those other thinges, Christes deth, hel and heuēn, wer likely to minish and put away, of our

paynful death iiiii. partes of ye feling eyther of ye feare or ye payn. For of this am I very sure, if we had ye xv. part of ye loue to Christ, yt he both had and hath vnto vs: al ye pain of this Turkes persecuciōn, could not kepe vs frōm him, but that ther wolde be at this day as many martyrs here in Hungary, as haue be afore in other contreys of old. And of this poyn特 put I nothing dout, but yt if the Turke stode euēn here wt all his whole army about him, and euery of thēm al wer ready at our hand, wt al ye terrible turmēntes yt they could imagine: and (but if we wold forsake the fayth) were setting their turmentes to vs: and to thincreace of our terror, fel al at once in a shoute, wt trūmpets, tabrets, and tumbrels al blowen vp at once, and al their gūnnes let go therwt to make vs a fearefull noyse: if ther shold sodeinly thān on ye tother side, ye ground quake and riue awain, and the deuils rise out of hel, and shew thēmself in such ugly shape as dāmned wretches shal see them, and wt that hideous howling yt those helhoūndes shold shryche, lay hel open on euery side round about our fete, yt as we stode we shold looke down into yt pestilent pit, and se ye swarne of sely soules in ye terrible turmentes there: we wold waxe so feard of ye sight, yt as for the Turkes hoste, we shold scantly remēbre we saw thēm. And in good faith for al yt yet thinke I farther this, that if ther might than appeare the gret glory of god, ye Trinitie in his high merueilous maiesty, our sauour in his glorious mānhed sitting on his trone, wt his immaculate mother and all that glorious cōpany, calling vs thereto vnto thēm: and yt yet our way shold lye thorow merueylous paynful deth, before we could come at thēm: vpon ye sight I say of that glorye, ther wold I wene be no man that once wold shrinke therat: but euery mān wold run on toward thēm in al yt euer he might though ther lay for malice to kil vs by ye way, both al the Turkes turmentors and al the deuils. And therfore cosin, let vs wel consider these thinges, and let vs haue sure hope in the helpe of God. And than I dout not but that we shalbe sure, that as the prophete sayth, the trouthe of hys promise shal so cūmpase vs with a pauice, that of this incursion of this middedaye deuil, this Turkes persecucion, we shal neuer neede to fere. For either if we trust in God well, and prepare vs therefore, the Turke shal neuer meddle with vs: or els if he dooe, harme shal he none dooe vs, but in stede of harme, inestimable good. Of whose gracious help wherfore shold we so sore nowe dispayre (except we were so madde men, as to wene yt either his power or hys mercy were worne out alredy) when we see so manye a thousand hollye martyrs by hys

holy helpe, suffered as much before, as any man shalbe put to now. Or what excuse can we haue by ye tendernes of our flesh, when we can be no more tender then wer many of them: among whom were not onely menne of strength, but also weake women and children. And syth the strength of them all stoode in the help of god: and that the very strongest of them all, was neuer hable of themselfe: and with goddes helpe the fieblest of them all was strong inough to stand against al the world: let vs prepare our self with prayer, with our hole trust in his helpe, withoute any trust in our own strength. Let vs thinke theron, and prepare vs in our mind therto long before. Lette vs therein confourme our wil vnto his, not desyring to be brought vnto ye peril of persecucion (for it semeth a proude high mind to desyre martyrdōm) but desyring helpe and strength of god, if he suffer vs to come to the stresse, eyther being sought, founden, and broughte out against our willes, or elles being by his commaundement (for the comfort of our cure) bounden to abyde.

Let vs fall to fasting, to prayer, to almes dede in time: and geue that vnto god yt may be taken from vs. If the deuil putte in our mind the sauing of our land and our goodes: let vs remember that we can not sauе them long. If he feare vs with exyle and flying from our countrey: let vs remēber that we be borne into the brode worlde, and not lyke a tree to sticke still in one place: and that whithersoeuer we goe, god shall goe with vs. If he threatten vs with captiuitie: let vs tell him agayne, better is it to be thrall vnto man a while for the pleasure of God, then by displeasing God, be perpetuall thralle vnto the deuill. If he thrette vs with impriesonment: let vs tell hym we will rather be mannes prisoners a whyle here in earth then by forsaking the fayth, be his prisoners euer in hel. If he putte in our mindes the terrour of the Turkes: let vs cōsider his false sleight therin, for this tale he telleth vs to make vs forgeatte hym. But lette vs remember well, that in respect of hymself, the Turke is but a shadowe: nor all that they all can dooe, can be but a fle byting, in comparison of the myschief that he goeth about. The Turkes are but his turmentors: For hymselfe dooeth the dede. Our lord sayeth in the Apocalyps. *Ecce missurus est diabolus aliquos ex vobis in carcerem ut tentemini.* The deuil shal sende some of you to prieson, to tempte you. He sayeth not that menne shal, but that the deuil shal hymselfe. For withoute question the deuylls owne dede it is, to bryng vs by hys temptacion with feare and force therof, into eternal damnacyon. And therefore sayeth Saynte Paule. *Non est*

nobis collectatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem sed etc: Oure
wrestling is not agaynst fleshe and bloude etc.

Thus may we se, that in such persecutions it is the myd day deuil hymself that maketh suche incursion vpon vs, by the menne that are hys minysters, to make vs falle for feare. For tyll we fall he canne neuer hurte vs. And therefore sayeth Saynte James. *Resistite diabolo, et fugiet a vobis:* Stande agaynste the deuyll, and he shall flee from you. For he neuer runneth vpon a manne to season hym with hys clawes, till he see hym downe on the grounde willynglye fallen hymselfe. For hys fashyon is to sette hys seruantes against vs, and by them to make vs for feare, or for impacience to falle. And hymselfe in the meane whyle compasseth vs runnyng and roaryng lyke a rampyng lyon about vs, looking who will falle, that he than maye deuowre hym. *Aduersarius vester diabolus* sayeth Saynt Peter, *tanquam leo rugiens, circuit querens quem deuoret:* Youre aduersarye the deuil lyke a roarynge lyon, runneth aboute in cyrcuite, sekyng whom we may deuowre.

The deuill it is therefore, that if we for feare of menne will falle, is readye to runne vpon vs and deuowre vs. And is it wisedome than so muche to thynke vpon the Turkes, that we forgeat the deuyll? What madde manne is he, that when a lyon were aboute to deuowre hym, woulde vouchesafe to regarde the byting of a lyttle fysting curre? Therfore when he roareth oute vpon vs, by the threattes of mortall menne: lette vs tell hym that with our inwarde eye wee see him wel ynoch, and entend to stand and fighte with him euen hand to hand. If he threaten vs that we be too weake: lette vs tell hym that our captayn christ is with vs, and that we shall fygght with his strength, that hath vanquished him already. And let vs fence vs with fayth, and coumforte vs with hope, and smyte the deuil in the face with a fyre brond of charitie. For surely if we be of the tender louing minde that our maister was and not hate them that kill vs, but pittie them and pray for them, with sorow for the perill that they woorke vnto theymselfe: that fyre of charitie throwen in his face, stryketh the deuyll sodaynelye so blynde, that he can not see where to fasten a stroke on vs.

When we feele vs to bolde: remember our owne fieblenesse. When we fele vs to faynte: remember Chrystes strenthe. In oure feare, lette vs remember Chrystes paynefull agonye, that hymselfe woulde for oure coumforte suffer before hys passion, to the entent that no feare shoulde make vs despayre. And euer calle for hys helpe suche as hymself lyst to sende vs. And

then nede we neuer to doubte, but that eyther he shall kepe vs from the paynefull deathe: or shal not fayle so to strength vs in it, that he shall ioyouslye brynge vs to heauen by it. And than dooeth he much more for vs, than if he kept vs fro it. For as God dydde more for poore Lazare in helping hym paciently to dye for hounger at the ryche mannes doore, than if he hadde broughte hym to the doore all the ryche glotons dyner: so though he be gracyous to a man whome he deliuereþ out of paynful trouble: yet dooeth he much more for a man, if thorowe ryghte painfull deathe, he deliuere hym from thys wretched worlde into eternalle blysse. From whiche, who so euer shrynde awaye with forsakyng hys faythe, and falleth in the peryll of euerlastynge fyre: he shall bee verye sure to repente it ere it be long after.

For I wene that when soeuer he falleth sicke nexte, he wyll wyshe that he hadde be kylled for Chrystes sake before. What follye is it then for feare, to flee from that death, whiche thou seest thou shalte shortelye after wish thou haddest dyed. Yea, I wene almoste euerye good christen man, woulde verye fayne thys daye, that he hadde been for Chrystes faythe, cruellye kylled yesterdaye, euen for the desyre of heauen, though there were none hell. But to feare whyle the payne is cumming, there is all our let. But then if we woulde remember hell, payne, on the tother syde, into whiche we fall while we flee fro this: then shold this shorte payne be no lette at all. And yet shoulde wee bee more prycked forewarde, if we were faythefull, by diepe considerynge of the ioyes of heauen, of whiche the Apostle sayeth: *Non sunt condigne passiones huius temporis, ad futuram gloriam quæ reuelabitur in nobis*: The passions of thys tyme be not woorthye to the glorye that is to come, whiche shal be shewed in vs. We shoulde not I weene, (cosyn) nede muche more in all this whole matter, then that one texte of Saynte Paule, if we wolde consider it well. For surely myne owne good Cosyn, remember that if it were possible for me and you alone, to suffer as muche trouble as the whole worlde doothe together: all that were not woorthye of it selfe to bryng vs to the ioye whiche we hope to haue euerlastinglye. And therefore I praye you lette the consideracion of that ioye, put oute all worldelye trouble oute of your hearte: and also praye that it maye dooe the same in me.

And euen thus will I (good Cosyn,) with these woordes, make a sodayn end of myne whole tale, and bydde you fare well. For nowe begynne I to feele my selfe somewhat werye.

¶ *Vyncent.* Forsooth good vncle thys is a good ende. And it is no meruayle though you bee waxen werye: for I haue this daye putte you to so muche labour that sauinge for the coumfort that your selfe maye take of your tyme so well bestowed, and for the coumforte that I haue my selfe taken, (and moe shall I truste) of youre good counsayle geuen: elles woulde I bee verye sorye to haue putte you to so muche payne. But now shall oure Lorde rewarde and recompence you therefore: and manye shall I truste praye for you. For to the intente that the moe maye take profite by you: I purpose vncle, as my poore witte and learninge will serue me, to putte youre good counsayle in remembraunce: not in our owne language onlye, but in the Almayne tongue too. And thus praying God to geue me and all other that shall reade it, the grace to folowe youre good counsayle therin, I shall committe you to God.

¶ *Anthony.* Sith you be mynded (cosin) to bestowe so muche laboure theron: I woulde it had happed you to fetche the counsaile at some wyser man that could haue gyuen you better. But better mēn may set mo thynges and better also therto. And

in the meane tyme, I beseche oure Lorde brethe of his holy
 spyrite in to the readers breste, whiche inwardely
 may teache hym in harte without whom, little
 auayleth all that all the mouthes of the
 worlde, were able to teache in mennes
 eares. And thus good cosyn
 fare well, tyll God bryng
 vs together agayn,
 eyther here or in
 heuen. Amen.
 Finis.

GLOSSARY

| | |
|---|---|
| ACHORIENS, placeless folk | COCKE A HOOPE, [drinking] without stint |
| ACQUYTE, requite | COLLACION, collection |
| ADUERTISEMENT, advice, warning | COMEN, come |
| ADVOUTREYE, adultery | COMMEN, commune |
| AFERDE, afraid | COMMODITY, convenience |
| AFLYGHTHE, afflicted | COMMON, commune |
| AGLETTES, aiglettes, ornaments | COMMUNE, common |
| AGRYCE, to shudder at | COMPTOUR, counter, token |
| AL, even | CONDESCENDED, conceded |
| ALAOPOLITANES, blind man's town-folk | CONFEDERED, joined, confederated |
| ALLECTYUES, allurements | CONTINENTLY, continuously |
| ALLYAUNTE, allied | CONUIENTLY, fitly |
| ALMOSE, alms | CONVEIAUNCE, expression |
| ALOUFE, aloof | COPPE HIGH, to a great height |
| AMAUROTE, faint-seen | CORPS, body |
| ANEMOLIANS, windy folk | COULOUR, excuse |
| ANKERS, anchorites | COUNTERPAYSED, counterpoised |
| ANNEYLINGE, anointing | COUNTOUR, counter, token |
| ANYDER, waterless | COURAGE, mind, spirit, temper |
| APPAIRED, impaired | COVEYNE, deceit |
| ARIENN, Aire-sur-Lys | COYTES, quoits |
| ASSAYE, trial | CUMEN, come |
| AVOUTERERS, adulterers | CUSTOMABLE, accustomed, customary |
| BAGEARD, badger | CUSTOMERS, collectors of customs |
| BANKETTES, banquets | CYUIL, Seville |
| BAYARDE, one recklessly blind to the light of knowledge | DEALE, bit, piece |
| BESETTE, employ | DEPRAVE, speak ill of |
| BOULES, bowls | DEPURED, purified |
| BOYSTUOUSLY, roughly | DISERDES, dolts |
| BRABLING, contention | DISPICIONS, disputations |
| BRAKED, tortured | DISSEMBLED, ignored |
| BRAYDES, fancies, freaks | DOMISTICALL, domestic |
| BROTLE, frail, mortal | DULCELY, soothingly |
| BRYMME, much spoken of; fierce, raging | DYRIGE, dirge |
| BUMBLING, blundering | DYSANULLED, disproved |
| BUSKE, prepare, make ready | EFTSONES, again |
| BUSKYNG, shifting | EGALLY, equally |
| BUTHRESCAS, very religious | ETHE, easy |
| CALIQUIT, Calicut | EVERYCHONE, every one |
| CAN, know | EXISTIMATION, esteem |
| CANNED [THANKS], expressed | EYEN, eyes |
| CANT, divide, share, apportion | FARDEL, burden |
| CAUTELE, quibble | FARSED, stuffed |
| CHEUEREL POINT, kid lace | FATIGACION, fatigue |
| CHEUING, end, issue | FAYTOR, cheat, impostor |
| | FELL, spirited |

| | |
|--|---|
| FELL, skin | LOSELL, a worthless person |
| FLOCKE-MEALE, in a flock | LYEFULL, LIEFULL, permissible |
| FLYGHTE, <i>see AFLYGHTE</i> | |
| FODE, beguile | |
| FORCETH, careth | |
| FOREWARYED, worn out, exhausted | |
| FOYNES, thrusts | |
| FRAIL, weak-minded | |
| FREMD, unrelated | |
| FRUSTRATE, ineffectual | |
| FUMYSHE, choleric | |
| FYLE, defile | |
| GALLOUS, gallows | |
| GAR, make | |
| GAULE, gall | |
| GIGGLOT, one given to inordinate mirth | |
| GLEKE, a card game | |
| GLORIOUS, haughty, boastful | |
| GLOSE, disguise, pretence | |
| GRAMERCYE, a thank you | |
| GRYNNE, snare | |
| HABLE, able | |
| HAPPELY, haply, perhaps | |
| HARDELY, assuredly, firmly | |
| HAUNSED, raised, exalted | |
| HAUOR, having, possession | |
| HAUOUR, behaviour | |
| HELY, Elijah | |
| HERUSALEM, Jerusalem | |
| HIERICO, Jericho | |
| HOLE, wholly | |
| HOLSOME, wholesome | |
| HOUED, hovered | |
| HYTHLODAY, nonsense-talker | |
| IMBASYNG, debasing | |
| IMBRAYDE, upbraid | |
| INCONTINENT, forthwith | |
| INDUCE, to bring in | |
| INFAMED, defamed | |
| INGROSSE, monopolise | |
| IUBARD, jeopard | |
| IYE, eye | |
| JAVEL, good for nothing | |
| JETTE, wander | |
| KINREDES, kindreds | |
| KNOT, binding condition | |
| KNOWLEDGE, acknowledge | |
| LAY, impute, allege | |
| LEESE, lose | |
| LEFT, ceased | |
| LET, hindered; prevention, hindrance | |
| LEUDE, Lewde, untrained, perverse | |
| | MACARIENS, happy folk |
| | MAGRy, in spite of |
| | MAMMERYNGE, state of doubt, or hesitation |
| | MATCHED, associated |
| | MAYNY, company |
| | MEATE, mete, measure |
| | MEATING, measuring |
| | MEESSE, mess |
| | MEETELYE, METELY, moderately |
| | MERELY, actually; merrily |
| | METTE, measured |
| | MISCREANT, misbelieving |
| | Mo, Moe, Moo, more |
| | OUNTENANCE, amount, quantity, value |
| | MYLLAYNE, Milan |
| | MYNYSHED, lessened, diminished |
| | NAMELYE, especially, expressly |
| | NEPHELOGETES, cloud folk |
| | NIGESHE, NYGGYSHE, mean |
| | NOSELED, trained in some opinion |
| | NOYOU, vexatious, troublesome |
| | NYDEOTE, idiot |
| | OCCUPIE, employ |
| | OUGHT, owned |
| | OVER, beyond, besides |
| | OVERTHWARTE, OVERWHARTE, cross |
| | PARALIPOMENON, The Book of Chronicles |
| | PARSONE, person |
| | PARTEIN, belong |
| | PAUICE, PAUYCE, a large shield, defence, protection |
| | PAYCE, weight |
| | PAYNEM, pagan |
| | PENNY-FATHERS, niggards |
| | PERCASE, perhaps |
| | PERDY, surely, certainly |
| | PERSEUER, persevere |
| | PEUISH, PIEUISHE, senseless, childish, silly |
| | PEUISHNES, childishness, folly |
| | PIERE, peer |
| | PILLETH, pillageth |
| | PINE BANK, rack |
| | PITTHE, meaning, pith |
| | POLYLERITES, very nonsensical folk |
| | PORTES, portable breviary |
| | POSIL, maid |
| | POTICARIES, apothecaries |
| | PRETELY, quietly |
| | PRICK, bull's-eye |

PROMISSION, promise
PROPOSED, proposed
PROSPERY, prosperity
PULLEYNE, pullets

QUAYLE, fail
QUAYLED, enfeebled
QUYCKENES, animation, vigour

RAMPIERE, to make ramparts
RECULED, retreated
RENEY, renounce, abjure
RESIDIUATION, relapse
ROUERS, AT, at random, at large
ROWME, room, office, appointment
ROYALME, realm
RUSSHEBUCKLERS, worthless
boasters
RYALTIE, magnificence, pomp
RYSHE, rush

SCOTTE, each one's share
SCRY, shout
SCURERS, scouts
SELDE, SILDE, seldom
SELY, simple, innocent, feeble
SEMBLABLE, like
SEWE, sue
SHENT, blamed
SHOGGE, shake, jog
SHREW, an evil-disposed person
SHREWDELY, harshly
SICKERLYE, securely
SIRR, SURRY, Assyria
SLOUGHISHNESSE, sluggishness
SLUGGE, to lie idle

SOURGES, surges
SOWDAN, sultan
STACK, stuck
STATES, personages
STEDETH, stoppeth, stayeth
STIELE, style
SUETE, suit
SWAP, strike
SWYCHERS, Swiss
SYBBE, kin

TABLE, picture
TAPROBANE, Ceylon
THEN, than
TONE, the one
TRAIN, enticement, guile
TRIACLE, antidote
TUMBRELLES, two-wheeled military
carts

UNCOUTH, unknown
UPLANDISH, rustic
UPRENDER, render up
UTOPIA, nowhere

VERIFYED, maintained
VRELYE, truly

WENE, think, suppose
WENT, thought, supposed
WOWER, wooer
WRIE, turn
WRONGEN, forced, wrenched
WRYTHEN, perverted

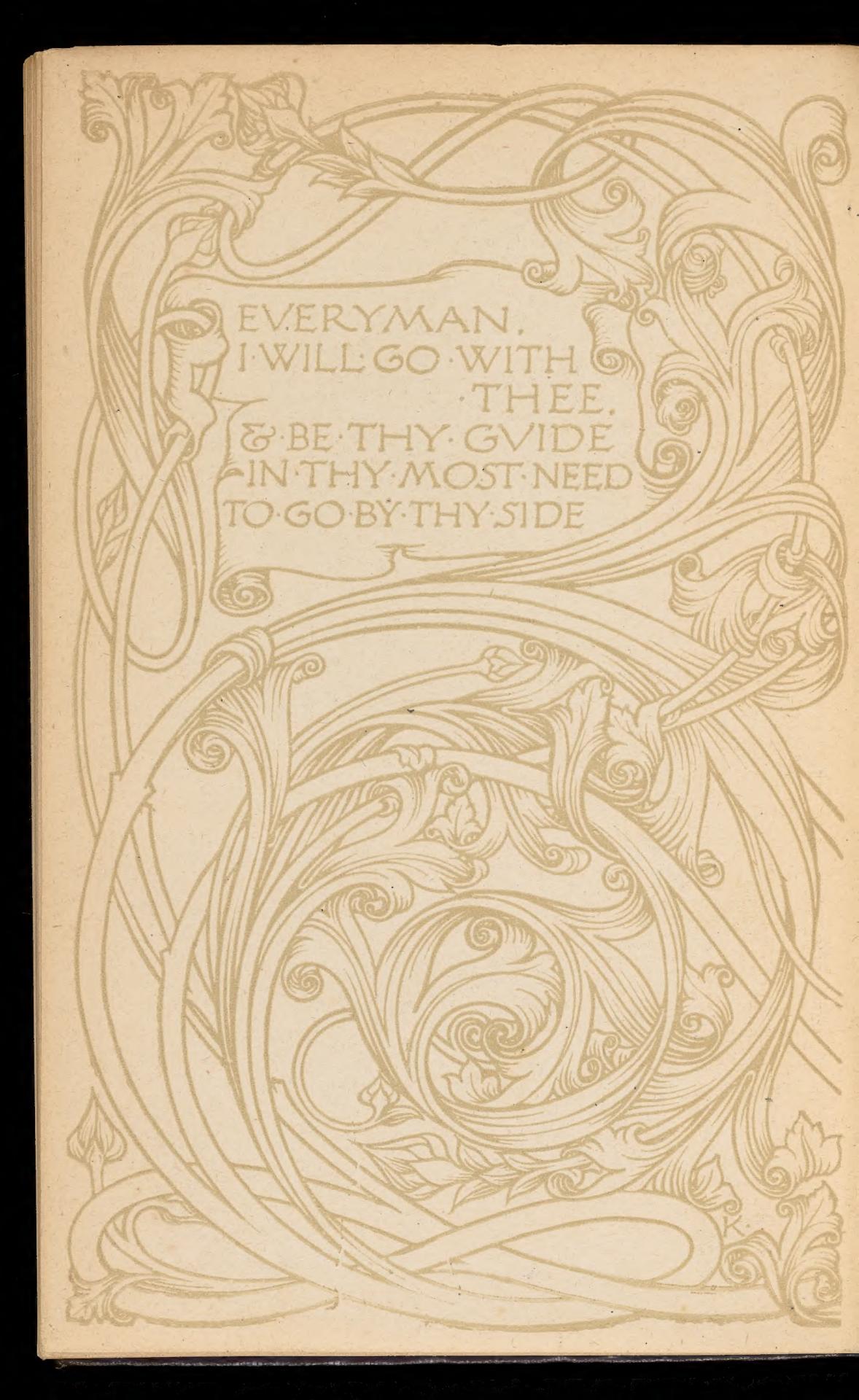
YERNING, rushing

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EVERYMAN.
I WILL GO WITH
THEE,
& BE THY GVIDE
IN THY MOST NEED
TO GO BY THY SIDE

